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Standing in the Shadow of the Greatest Generation: Men and Women of the Korean War

Melinda Leigh Pash

To the Graduate Council:

I am submitting herewith a dissertation written by Melinda Leigh Pash entitled "Standing in the Shadow of the Greatest Generation: Men and Women of the Korean War." I have examined the final electronic copy of this dissertation for form and content and recommend that it be accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, with a major in History.

G. Kurt Piehler, Major Professor

We have read this dissertation and recommend its acceptance:

Janis Appier, George White, Norma Mertz

Accepted for the Council:
Dixie L. Thompson

Vice Provost and Dean of the Graduate School

(Original signatures are on file with official student records.)

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STANDING IN THE SHADOW OF THE GREATEST GENERATION: MEN AND WOMEN OF THE KOREAN WAR

A Dissertation
Presented for the
Doctor of Philosophy
Degree
The University of Tennessee, Knoxville

Melinda Leigh Pash
August 2008

DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to Sid, Graham, and Sam, the most wonderful people I know, for kindly and lovingly encouraging me to finish.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I owe a debt of gratitude to many people who had a hand in enabling me to complete my dissertation and my degree. Above all, my family provided years of enthusiastic encouragement as well as a pleasant distraction from the tedium of reading and writing. My wonderful husband, Sid, watched our two young sons in Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania, Abilene, Kansas, Independence, Missouri, and Washington, D.C. while I did research and managed to keep his sense of humor even when things went awry, as when I got trapped in Ronald Reagan's funeral procession and couldn't get back to the hotel until long after the kids were asleep and when our then two year old decided to un-diaper and go for a swim in the pool at the World War II Memorial. He also took me on "dissertation drives" so I could talk through ideas and cheerfully proofread numerous drafts.

My advisor, G. Kurt Piehler, proved both a friend and an invaluable resource. After my original advisor left academia, Kurt graciously agreed to take over. In the many years that followed, I am certain he must have regretted his decision once or twice, but he consistently and patiently led me to sources, read and commented on rough drafts, and pushed me along. Kurt also introduced me not only to my husband, but to Professors George White and Janis Appier who, along with Professor Norma Mertz, complete my dissertation committee. All of my committee members have been supportive, but I must single out Professor Mertz as she encouraged me to finish my degree while I was still a student struggling to complete the necessary coursework. I still look back on Professor Mertz's class with fondness and appreciation.

Two of my closest friends, Stephen Berrey and Ana Garcia, always answered my calls, no matter how late, and encouraged me to keep going. Stephen also recommended a number of sources for the Civil Rights sections of my dissertation that turned out to be invaluable.

Many veterans took the time to send me materials, answer questions, and proofread as I went along. There are too many wonderful men who served in Korea that contributed to this project to name them all, but I would especially like to thank Mr. Harry Matthews, Mr. Joe Scheuber, and Mr. Ralph Cutro. These three shared their lives with me, gave depth to my research, and made this project a passion rather than a burden. If not for my own three boys, this work would be dedicated to them.

Lastly, I would like to thank the many archivists and librarians at the places I researched. Archivists at the Eisenhower Library were especially helpful, leading me to collections like the Bradley Commission papers (and to the best Mexican restaurant for several hundred miles). At the Library of Congress and National Archives I and II various staff members took the time to sit down with me and help me decide which collections would be of most use to my project. Professor Paul Edwards, at the Center for the Study of the Korean War in Independence, Missouri not only opened his entire collection to me, but let me make copies on his copy machine free of charge, a real kindness for a starving graduate student. And, at Fayetteville State University's Charles Chesnutt Library, Ms. Vera Hooks located even the most obscure sources ordered by me via Interlibrary Loan.

Of course, while many people contributed to the completion of this dissertation, any errors or inconsistencies are mine alone.

Abstract

This dissertation takes a fresh look at the forgotten generation of servicemen and women who served in theater during the Korean War. Beginning with their shared childhood, growing up during the Great Depression and World War II, this narrative account follows the story of American men and women as they enlisted in or were drafted into the Armed Forces, took basic training, shipped out to the Korean Peninsula or Japan, lived in the war zone, and returned home to a country that seemed not to have noticed their absence. Special attention is paid throughout to the complex interplay between service members and the home front and to the changes which occurred in both the lives of individual Americans and in American life as a result of wartime experiences. Though not a treatise on civil rights, the dissertation examines how integration in training and in foxholes helped break down racial barriers.

Research for this project comes from the Library of Congress's Robert A. Taft Papers and Veterans History Project Collection, the Eisenhower Papers, various collections at the National Archives and the Center for the Study of the Korean War, veteran surveys at Carlisle Barracks, oral history collections, published and unpublished memoirs, collections of veteran poetry, and contemporary newspaper and magazine stories.

This work adds greatly to the historiography of the American soldier, connecting military and social history and examining both the personal and collective consequences of waging war the American way.

PREFACE

"We came back in dribs and drabs. By and large the public was tired of war and ignored Korea unless it directly affected them."—Norman Weibel, Korean War veteran.[1]

"I was surprised by the lack of interest back home….People usually said, 'Where have you been, on vacation?'"—Bob Chester, Korean War veteran.[2]

"We did what our country called us to do. Is it too much to ask that we be recognized for what we did?"—Harold L. Mulhausen, Korean War veteran.[3]

During the Korean Conflict, America shipped the bodies of those killed in action home for burial for the first time. With little by way of ceremony or pomp, the remains of soldiers who had died in Korea were interred in simple graves that merely identified the person's name, rank, and date of birth. Only later did Americans think to add "Korea" to the stones, ascribing a time and place, if not a meaning to their deaths. Some 33,700 American soldiers ended their wartime tour of duty in Korea this way while another 1.8 million returned home alive but alone and shrouded in the same anonymity, the forgotten soldiers of a forgotten war.[4]

Unlike their older brothers and cousins who served in World War II and returned to tickertape parades and the boisterous tunes of welcoming bands, Korean War veterans returned quietly to a country that had scarcely missed them. Though Americans had initially rallied to the war drum when President Harry S Truman called on the nation to defend South Korea from

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[1] Norman Weibel, *Korean War Veteran Survey*, 8, Center for the Study of the Korean War, Graceland University, Independence, Missouri (hereafter CFSOKW).
[2] R. W. Chester, *Korean War Veteran Survey*, 7, CFSOKW.
[3] Harold L. Mulhausen and James Edwin Alexander, *Korea: Memories of a U. S. Marine* (Oklahoma City, OK: Macedon Publishing Company, 1995), i.
[4] There are 6.8 million Korean War era veterans, but only 1,789,000 of those served in theater. See Tom Heuertz, "The Korean War + 50: No Longer Forgotten, Teaching Resources," Box FF "A.0957-A.0986," Folder A. 0974, CFSOKW and "Section XI: Mortality and Combat Service," "Section 11," 1, U.S. President's Commission on Veterans Pensions (Bradley Commission): Records, 1954-58, A 69-22 and 79-6, Box 61, Dwight David Eisenhower Library, Abilene, Kansas (hereafter Bradley Commission and DDE Library). Because of the rotation system, these veterans of the Korean War returned individually rather than with their platoons or units. As a result, quite often the trickling home of soldiers went unnoticed and unmarked by communities around the United States. See Chapter 4 for more on the rotation system.

communist aggression, the lack of home front participation in the form of rationing or other personal sacrifice soon made Korea only a minor distraction for many Americans.[5] As soldiers still green to battle clung to the Pusan Perimeter, as Marines fought their way out of a place called Chosin Reservoir with frozen feet and staggering casualties, and as dogfaces tried to hold the line in a bloody stalemate half a world away, Americans at home went on with business as usual, concentrating on making the most of the prosperous post-World War II economy. Fearing wartime shortages, they snapped up furniture and televisions, refrigerators and cars.[6] In Fords and Lincolns and Chevrolets, the war drove right out of the minds of many Americans and into the middle and back pages of newspapers. Returning veterans could only wonder at the world that had seemingly forgotten them in their absence, surprised that "there was no evidence that the civilian population of the USA even knew (or cared) that those of us getting off the ship had seen desperate combat."[7]

And if average Americans found themselves too busy with life to pay attention to the conflict raging thousands of miles away in Korea or to the soldiers trickling home, movie-makers, novelists, and even historians proved no better at acknowledging the sacrifices made by those American servicemen and women. Throughout the war and in the years following, Hollywood produced a number of war movies, but most of them looked back to the "good war," World War II, for inspiration. The silver screen showed John Wayne, Henry Fonda, Humphrey Bogart, Robert Mitchum, Randolph Scott, and a host of other stars heroically battling Nazis and

[5] An August 20-25, 1950 Gallup poll showed that 65% of Americans believed that the United States had NOT made a mistake in deciding to defend Korea. By January 1-5, 1951, that percentage had fallen to 38%, and throughout the war popular support for military intervention in Korea continued to decline. Also, as it became clear that the war would have little effect on the home front, interest in the conflict waned. See George Gallup, Jr., "Korean War," in *The Gallup Poll: Public Opinion 2000* (Wilmington, DE: Scholarly Resources Inc., 2000), 194.
[6] See John E. Wiltze, "The Korean War and American Society," *Wilson Quarterly* 2 (Summer 1978): 131.
[7] Robert Henderson, *Korean War Veteran Survey*, 9, CFSOKW.

"Nips" in such classics as *Flying Leathernecks* (1951), *Battle Cry* (1955), and *Bridge on the River Kwai* (1957). To be sure, Korea did provide backdrop for a number of films, but with few exceptions these failed to catch hold of the popular imagination and seemed simply to reuse themes and storylines from World War II.[8] The one exception to this might be *M*A*S*H* (1970) which set out to portray the lives of doctors and nurses in a mobile army surgical hospital during the Korean War, but in the end the film seemed more adept at reflecting the values and issues belonging to the Vietnam era than at depicting life in Korea. Some fifty years later, the trend remains the same—movie studios churn out new World War II classics like *Saving Private Ryan* (1998), *Pearl Harbor* (2001), and *Flags of Our Fathers* (2006), but largely ignore the Korean War and the men and women who served in it. When Paramount Pictures remade *Manchurian Candidate* in 2004, originally a movie centering on a prisoner-of-war brainwashed by the Chinese, they stripped the story of its original Korean War setting, placing it instead in the Gulf War.

With its dependency upon public interest for earnings, one can readily understand why Hollywood paid such short shrift to the Korean Conflict and its veterans, but academics and scholars have also shown great reluctance in tackling the first hot war of the Cold War. While they have written hundreds, perhaps thousands of books on Vietnam, the second major flare-up of the Cold War, historians have produced only a handful of volumes dedicated to the Korean

[8] Two books in particular make clear the discrepancy in number and quality between movies about World War II and the Korean Conflict. Larry Langman and Ed Borg's *Encyclopedia of American War Films*, an exhaustive compilation of films produced from the 1940s through the late 1980s, devotes ten times as much space to World War II films as it does to Korean War films. In the book, even movies about World War I, the Civil War, and Vietnam individually fill more lines than those about Korea. Lawrence Suid's *Guts and Glory* provides a more analytical approach, explaining that the nature of the Korean Conflict simply made it less suitable as a topic for filmmakers than World War II. See Langman and Borg, *Encyclopedia of American War Films* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1989) and Suid, *Guts and Glory: the Making of the American Military Image in Film*, revised and expanded edition (United States: University Press of Kentucky, 2002).

War experience. The majority of these concentrate on the military campaign itself or on the foreign policy that failed to prevent hostilities. Some look at the American home front during the Cold War, but with a few exceptions, these focus so narrowly as to preclude any real analysis of the impact of the Korean War on domestic life.[9] In some cases, the home front studies even fail to mention the Korean War at all. Elaine Tyler May's landmark study on the Cold War family, *Homeward Bound*, talks at length about the structure of the American family in the 1950s but never addresses the millions of families who sent husbands, sons, and fathers overseas to fight and sometimes die in Korea.[10] Not surprisingly, with so little attention paid in general to the conflict, Korean War veterans are all but excluded from the scholarly literature. Only a few works, like Rudy Tomedi's *No Bugles, No Drums*, Linda Granfield's *I Remember Korea*, and Donald Knox's two volume oral history of the Korean War take a close look at those who laid their lives on the line at the 38th Parallel.[11] And, while these books do a good job of allowing veterans to tell their stories, they provide little analysis, focusing primarily on wartime experiences and leaving the Korean War soldier turned veteran a mystery.

With the fiftieth anniversary of the Korean War now past, the time has come for a fresh and more comprehensive look at the men and women who marched to the "land of the morning calm" from June 1950 to July 1953. Of the 6.8 million survivors of the Korean War era, only 3.9 million remained in 2000 and the U. S. Department of Veterans Affairs estimates that by 2010

[9]There are some noteworthy exceptions to this. Lisle Rose's *Cold War Comes to Main Street* spends a good deal of time investigating the impact of the Korean War on domestic attitudes and life and David Halberstam's *The Fifties* makes frequent references to both the war and the return of those who served overseas. See Lisle Rose, *The Cold War Comes to Main Street: America in 1950* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1999) and David Halberstam, *The Fifties* (New York: Villard Books, 1993).

[10] Elaine Tyler May, *Homeward Bound: American Families in the Cold War Era* (New York: Basic Books, 1999).

[11] Rudy Tomedi, *No Bugles, No Drums: An Oral History of the Korean War* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1993). Donald Knox, *The Korean War: Pusan to Chosin: An Oral History* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich, 1985). Donald Knox, with additional text by Alfred Coppel, *The Korean War: Uncertain Victory, the Concluding Volume of an Oral History* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich, 1988). Linda Granfield, *I Remember Korea: Veterans Tell Their Stories of the Korean War, 1950-1953* (New York: Clarion Books, 2003).

only 2.5 million will still be alive, none under the age of 70.[12] The generation is passing and with it the opportunity to give a face to those who served and to understand the impact that this war had on veterans and on the world to which they returned.

This study focuses on the veterans of the Korean War, their backgrounds, training and wartime experiences, attitudes, and post-Korea lives. Raised during the Great Depression and the Second World War, the men and women who served in Korea learned firsthand the sacrifices that Americans might be called upon to make in the name of country. After the defeat of the Nazis and Japanese, however, few could have expected that one day Uncle Sam would ask them to participate in a ground war of their own. Situated between World War II and the Vietnam War, did this generation patriotically heed the call to colors as they saw fathers and brothers do in the 1940s or did they seek to avoid the draft and shun volunteering as their sons and daughters in the 1960s and 1970s? Did they protest military service? If not, what led them to quietly bear the responsibility of a war half a world away? And, was that burden shared equally by all Americans or did people perceive, as they did during the Vietnam War, that factors like race and social class created inequities in the system and in the nation's defense of liberty?

Most of the soldiers and Marines who fought on the Korean Peninsula as well as the nurses and doctors who tended them ended up in the war zone by either enlisting or accepting induction through the Selective Service system. But, relying on atomic deterrence and air power, President Truman all but ended the draft and pared down the military in the 1940s, making it necessary to call up men from the National Guard and Reserves when hostilities erupted along the 38th Parallel in the summer of 1950. Armed with the American "can do" spirit, a small core

[12] U. S. Department of Veterans Affairs, Assistant Secretary for Planning and Analysis, Office of Program and Data Analyses, *Data on Veterans of the Korean War, June 2000.* (online publication at www.va.gov/vetdata/demographics/KW2000.doc).

of regular military men and women supplemented by reservists and newly trained inductees set out to make a good showing in Korea. But, as they reached the dirty, bloody war being fought in Korea's hills, did infantrymen and support personnel think the land and people on whose behalf they had been summoned worth the price? As the war dragged on and it became clearer to those fulfilling their obligations overseas that the American public had little interest in the struggle over real estate in Korea, what motivated them to keep fighting and at what personal cost did they do so? Had America adequately trained these sons and daughters for the challenges they now faced?

In contrast to previous wars, servicemen and women returned home from Korea individually, rotating out after completing a set number of months in country. Some did arrive to parades or welcoming bands, but most experienced a quieter homecoming. Rather than celebrating the end of the war as they had in 1945, Americans seemed anxious to simply put Korea behind them as soon as possible and forget it ever happened. Of course, Congress did pass a Korean G.I. Bill in 1952, but it was less generous than that of World War II in its readjustment benefits, further acknowledgement of the country's tepid gratitude. So rewarded for doing their duty, did the veterans of Korea use the G.I. Bill as readily as their predecessors or, like other Americans, did they try to forget their service and pick up their lives just where they had left off? After their war, did Korean veterans suffer lasting effects from their wartime experiences? How did the war change them? Known as the "silent generation," did Korean War veterans ever recover their identity as war veterans?

While Truman had issued Executive Order 9981 in 1948 in hopes of desegregating the Armed Forces, little had been done to accomplish that end before the Korean War began. Manpower pressures on the peninsula, however, forced commanders in the field to integrate

units there and by the end of the war blacks and whites regularly served in the same units at both training and duty stations. In what ways did these experiences serve to change the attitudes of individual service members toward race? When they returned to their hometowns, did men and women see local customs differently in light of their exposure to different types of people while in the military or in the war theater? Did Korean War veterans become activists as Vietnam Veterans did later?

With so little scholarly research available on Korean War veterans, these are difficult questions to answer. However, given the current war in Iraq and the cyclical return of veterans to American society, the endeavor to identify both the impact of war on participants and of veterans on American culture remains worthy. And, approaching the sixtieth anniversary of the beginning of their war, it is time to recognize the veterans of Korea. Relying upon such diverse sources as statistical data from the Bradley Commission Report, Korean War Veteran Surveys, personal memoirs, oral histories, archival records, public opinion polls, Project Clear reports, contemporary newspaper and magazine articles, and studies on the draft, this work seeks to give a voice to those who served in the Korean War and to place them in the larger context of American history.

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CHAPTER 1: TIMING IS EVERYTHING

"It was our generation's turn to answer the country's call."—Lawrence Cole, Korean War veteran.[1]

"I was brought up in poverty during the Great Depression. I remember World War II very vividly….It was a disgrace not to serve our country in one way or another. It really was 'our country right or wrong.'"—Ralph Cutro, Korean War veteran.[2]

"And when I was told to go and do something, all I thought of was just go and do it. I never thought, I never gave it a second thought."—Joseph W. Jimenez, Korean War veteran.[3]

"My generation never questioned authority, we merely complied."—Bernie Ruchin, Korean War veteran.[4]

William Dannenmaier missed serving in World War II by just about a year because of his age. But as a young man, he did not fret over skipping such an important generational experience. In fact, when he had registered for the draft as required by law, Dannenmaier never expected to go anywhere, except maybe to graduate school.[5] He reflected to himself on his luck, that the war was over and despite the requirement to register for the Selective Service, "young men's lives were no longer forfeit. We could plan our futures—and have them."[6]

Though they did not say so, Robert Baken, Lynn Hahn, Rudolph Stephens, Howard Matthias, and Bill Anderson probably all felt the same optimism and self-determination as Dannenmaier. Born in 1930, Baken also bypassed the Second World War and by the early 1950s had settled comfortably into the study of electrical engineering at the Illinois Institute of

[1] Lawrence Cole, *Korean War Veteran Survey*, 4, Center for the Study of the Korean War, Graceland University, Independence, Missouri (hereafter CFSOKW).
[2] Ralph Cutro, *Korean War Veteran Survey*, 13, CFSOKW.
[3] Joseph W. Jimenez (AFC 2001/001/7979), Folder 3, Interview by Colleen Fulco of Joseph W. Jimenez, 29 May 2003, 13, Veterans History Project Collection, American Folklife Center, Library of Congress (hereafter VHPC, AFC, LOC).
[4] Bernie Ruchin, email to Melinda Pash, 3 July 2004, in author's possession.
[5] Despite the end of World War II, Selective Service laws remained in place almost continuously until the Korean War. Refer to George Q. Flynn, *The Draft, 1940-1973* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1993), 2 and 116.
[6] William D. Dannenmaier, *We Were Innocents: An Infantryman in Korea* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1999), 10.

Technology.[7] He planned to graduate and saw no reason why he should not. Lynn Hahn and Rudolph Stephens had settled into something a bit cozier. Hahn, walking down an Alma, Michigan street in the fall of 1950, met Beatrice Ruth Allen and after a brief courtship they became engaged.[8] Similarly, Stephens, only eleven when World War II started, had decided by 1951 that he wanted to marry his girlfriend.[9] Nothing in the seemingly placid and prosperous years after 1945 had prepared Hahn and Stephens for the possibility that they would not soon follow up their betrothals with honeymoons and dinner parties, and maybe even a baby or two. As for Howard Matthias and Bill Anderson, they chose very different directions than their peers. Matthias, graduating college and concerned about the draft looming over him, enlisted in the Marines, despite his own imminent engagement.[10] In April 1950, at the ripe old age of 17, with his parents' consent, Anderson enlisted in what he believed to be the United States' peacetime Army Air Force.[11] No doubt he foresaw an uneventful military career with decent pay and a nice, dependable retirement at the end.

It is hard to say if Virginia Jennings Watson was also thinking about retirement when she enlisted in the Navy. After all, every branch of the service mustered married women out pretty quickly, so a permanent career in the Navy would have doomed her to a lifetime spent as an old maid. But, her father had been an aviator in World War II and her mother, a proudly naturalized American citizen, had been a Navy yeoman in Estonia during World War I, so military service

[7] Robert E. Baken (AFC 2001/001/1443), Folder 2, Interview by Matthew Baken, 23 November 2001, 2, VHC, AFC, LOC.
[8] Lynn Harold Hahn, Memoir (Korean War Educator website at http://www.koreanwar-educator.org/), 2.
[9] Rudolph W. Stephens, *Old Ugly Hill: A G.I.'s Fourteen Months in the Korean Trenches, 1952-1953* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland and Company, 1995), 14.
[10] Howard Matthias, *The Korean War—Reflections of a Young Combat Platoon Leader*, revised edition (Tallahassee, FL: Father & Son Publishing, 1995), 1-2.
[11] William E. Anderson, Memoir (Korean War Educator), 2.

came naturally. And, Virginia's father seemed thrilled when she decided to join up.[12] Betty Jo Alexander's father could not have reacted more differently. A serviceman in World War II, he had come to think of military nurses as prostitutes and he and Betty Jo's brother, also a World War II veteran, definitely did not want Betty Jo to enlist in the Navy of all things![13] The alternative of staying in Altus, Oklahoma and picking cotton, though, had little appeal and Betty Jo did not let the weeds grow under her feet before marching down to the recruiter's office. While not subject to the draft like their male counterparts, Virginia and Betty Jo found the promise of military service too alluring to resist.

Across the country the story was the same. In America's big cities and small towns, in the mountains and on the plains, along the coasts, in the countryside and on thousands of little farms, the young men and women who belonged to the generation after the "greatest generation" busily plotted the courses of their futures. But somewhere in between all the dreams, engagements, weddings, births, college pins, careers, and carefully constructed plans, timing intervened. On June 25, 1950, North Korean forces invaded South Korea. To almost everyone's surprise, President Harry Truman set his jaw against this further expansion of communism and wasted no time in committing American soldiers and sailors to a limited war in Korea. As a result, many of those young men and some of the young women who had escaped the perils of service in World War II, along with many who had served during that war, received a new "invitation" from Uncle Sam to come and fight (or nurse those fighting) half a world away in Korea.[14] As Dannenmaier observed, "Now it was my turn."[15]

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[12] Frances Omori, *Quiet Heroes: Navy Nurses of the Korean War, 1950-1953, Far East Command* (St. Paul, MN: Smith House Press, 2000), 70.
[13] *Ibid*., 69.
[14] It should be noted that the Korean War was not fought solely by new draftees and recruits. Shortages of military manpower at the beginning of the war due to the drastic dismantling of the World War II military made necessary

Whatever arrangements had been made, whatever prospects waited just on the horizon, the Korean War and the draft were about to reconfigure the life blueprints of many young draftees and enlisted men and women. Like hundreds of thousands of others, Dannenmaier, Baken, Hahn, Stephens, Matthias, and Anderson all ended up in a war zone in Korea instead of in Michigan or California building lives at home during the early 1950s. Dannenmaier enlisted in order to avoid the draft, replacing graduate school with boot camp, at least for the time being. But, he did have his undergraduate degree. Baken did not even get the chance to finish college before mustering in. On summer break 1951, he received his draft notice and the draft board denied his appeal to complete college before serving based on his non-enrollment that summer. He mustered in September 1951.[16] Stephens, believing that nothing could come of an engagement interrupted by a long wartime separation, broke off his engagement. Years later he still maintained that he never quite got over his fiancé.[17] Hahn went ahead and married Beatrice, spending his last three months before Korea as a married man. They recently celebrated their 50th wedding anniversary.[18] Matthias also married his girl before shipping out and on the eve of his departure learned she was pregnant. Whether good luck or bad, he received a Purple Heart wound and was sent home in time to welcome the new arrival.[19] Anderson, like many Korean War era volunteers, experienced Korea as a grunt in ground combat. By the time Anderson enlisted, the Air Force had separated from the Army, a little fact that the recruiter failed to

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the call up of tens of thousands of reservists and national guardsmen, many of whom had already served in World War II.

[15] Dannenmaier, *We Were Innocents*, 2.

[16] Robert E. Baken, Interview by Baken and Baken, 2, VHPC, AFC, LOC.

[17] Stephens, *Old Ugly Hill*, 14.

[18] Lynn Harold Hahn, Memoir (Korean War Educator), 1-2.

[19] Matthias, *The Korean War*, 176.

mention when he was signing up.[20] Virginia Jennings Watson and Betty Jo Alexander received orders to report overseas as Navy nurses. While some women sent to Japan or Korea felt great trepidation, Watson looked forward to helping the war effort and doing "something worthwhile."[21] Numberless and nameless others put their plans on hold or abandoned them entirely and went to Korea, Japan, or Navy or hospital ships stationed in the Far East. They had babies born while they stood in the foxholes, lost girlfriends and boyfriends and wives due to their absence, gave up good jobs, turned into soldiers, earned their stripes, or simply changed their plans and perhaps themselves as a result of their service.

Born during the Great Depression and sandwiched somewhere between the "Good War," World War II and the "bad war," Vietnam, the men and women who served during the Korean Conflict shared more than just the donning of military issue olive drab.[22] They were a generation of their own, influenced by a childhood made common by the uncommon events they shared—a deep and nearly universal economic depression and then a war of unprecedented scale followed by what many hoped would be an enduring peace. Little did they know it then, but this historical backdrop served to uniquely prepare some of them to accept their roles in Harry Truman's war over a small, squalid, maybe even insignificant piece of Asia called Korea.

Though most of the men and women destined to serve in Korea and the Far East Command would have been too young to remember October 24, 1929, they would certainly recognize the effects of that day on their lives. "Black Thursday" as it was called marked the end of the roaring twenties and the beginning of the decade long economic decline that started on

[20] William E. Anderson, Memoir (Korean War Educator), 2.
[21] Omori, *Quiet Heroes*, 15.
[22] The projected average age for Korean War veterans in 2010 according to the U. S. Department of Veterans Affairs is 78.5, making 1931 the median birth year. See U. S. Department of Veterans Affairs, Assistant Secretary for Planning and Analysis Office of Program and Data Analyses, *Data on Veterans of the Korean War, June 2000* (online publication at http://www.va.gov/vetdata/demographics/KW2000.doc) .

Wall Street and rippled through the various Main Streets of America. Throughout the country, banks closed, factories sat collecting dust, farmers threw in their rakes as their properties were foreclosed, and average Americans wandered the streets or rode the rails in search of work. For the children born in these years of widespread poverty, there were tangible and sometimes terrible consequences. Poor diet and the inability to afford proper medical care led to malnourishment, a rise in diseases like rickets and pellagra, and lifelong health issues. The high rate of unemployment meant that many suffered eviction, hunger, discomfort, and parental absence as fathers or mothers job-hunted. Not uncommonly, youngsters had to suspend their schooling to either find employment themselves or help out at home or on the farm.

But the Great Depression served as an effective teacher to these kids, even if most of the lessons were bitter to learn. If they were old enough, boys and girls learned to work and work hard without complaining or questioning. They plowed fields, hawked newspapers, sold apples, cared for younger siblings, and fed livestock. Like the adults around them, children of the Depression sacrificed and pulled together with their loved ones, their communities, and their country to survive hard times. And, they learned a new American lesson, too, that the government could be their friend. President Franklin Roosevelt's New Deal, begun in 1933, didn't pull the United States out of depression, but it did ease the suffering of countless Americans who benefited from its various programs aimed at relief, reform and recovery. Children who had known only empty bellies and hardscrabble existences could see the difference that government assistance made and they learned to trust and love their Uncle Sam.[23] For many it would be difficult to shake the image of a benevolent president wisely acting in the best

[23] In chapter 1 of his book, Lisle Rose makes a compelling case for the idea that the Great Depression and the New Deal changed Americans' way of thinking with regard to the government. See Lisle A. Rose, *The Cold War Comes to Main Street: America in 1950* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1999).

interests of the country—even when shivering through Korean winters and ducking showers of Chinese bullets.

As babies and young children of the Great Depression, most of the Korean War generation sat on the sidelines during World War II, too young to be drafted or even to enlist. But, the Second World War would nonetheless prove a milestone in their lives. Unaware of the isolationism and malaise that had lingered after World War I, the men and women who would later serve in Korea were ten and eleven year old kids when the Japanese bombed Pearl Harbor. They saw how Americans joined together to back the war effort, even if that meant making grave sacrifices. For their part, sixteen million American men, including the fathers and older brothers of those who would later serve in Korea, stepped into military uniforms ready to do their duty and lay down their lives in defense of the country. Those left behind on the home front did their part, too. Whole towns turned out to say goodbye to their native sons being shipped off to war. Ordinary Americans, even young ones, grew Victory Gardens, saved scrap metal and paper, bought war stamps and war bonds, harvested the pod from milkweed for the making of parachutes, and patriotically rallied behind their government.[24] In the schools, club periods became "victory periods" and junior ROTC units donated their time to pick up metal and other materials and load them onto trains bound for national collection points.[25] Many students quit school altogether in order to enlist or go to work in defense plants.[26] With fathers and older

[24] In their memoirs and interviews, Korean War veterans commonly talk about their own war efforts during World War II. Even as kids, they were expected to offer their labor and time. For some personal accounts, see Richard Bevier, "Nearly Everyone Should Write a Book," account attached by the author to *Korean War Veteran Survey*, 3, CFSOKW; Professor Charles Marx, Oral History by Dr. Orley B. Caudill, 28 October 1976, Volume 185 (1981), transcript, Mississippi Oral History Program, University of Southern Mississippi, Hattiesburg, Mississippi, 3; Glen Schroeder, Memoir, (Korean War Educator), 1; and Ralph David Fly, Memoir (Korean War Educator), 2.
[25] See Martin Markley, Memoir (Korean War Educator), 2.
[26] One Korean War veteran noted that his class size shrunk from 213 to 151 because of students leaving to serve the war effort in one way or another. See Martin Markley, Memoir (Korean War Educator), 2.

siblings gone in service of one type or another, younger children bucked up, taking on adult responsibilities at home and within the community.[27] When asked to conserve, Americans accepted the severe rationing of such items as gasoline, meat, butter, sugar, and flour, and they continued to support the war. For hundreds of thousands of kids, the message must have been clear; in a time of war American citizens rally together, sharing the sacrifices and keeping the trust with those whom they have called to serve.

In addition to burdens, World War II provided a great amount of excitement for those growing up. Just the thought of war thrilled some of them. Jack Orth remembers sitting around the dinner table when his family heard the news of Pearl Harbor. "Everyone was in a state of shock. Can you imagine how exciting this was to a ten-year-old kid?"[28] And if the real war proved insufficient to keep the attention of youths, the "reel" World War II often did the trick. Saturday matinees routinely featured John Wayne or Robert Mitchum in motion pictures guaranteed to titillate audiences with true or manufactured wartime heroics. Even after the war ended, Hollywood deluged young moviegoers with films glorifying the men who fought at the Battle of the Bulge or Wake Island. For many, Sergeant Stryker, the cool-under-pressure bona fide hard-ass Marine in *The Sands of Iwo Jima* (1949) served a far greater purpose than simple entertainment. He and other characters like him became influential role models for the generation of men that had missed out on World War II. As one Korean War veteran put it, "I had been exposed to everything about warfare by Hollywood. These visions filled my head when I joined up for the Korean War. My intentions were to kill a few North Koreans or

[27] In his book on children born in America from 1932 to 1945, Tuttle emphasizes that one of the major effects of the Second World War on kids was the increased burdens falling on their shoulders due to the absence of fathers and older siblings. See William M. Tuttle, Jr., *"Daddy's Gone to War:" The Second World War in the Lives of America's Children* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), 241.
[28] Jack Orth quoted in Henry Berry, *Hey, Mac, Where Ya Been? Living Memories of the U. S. Marines in the Korean War* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1988), 282.

Chinese, maybe get a small wound and be taken care of by a June Allyson or Doris Day type nurse. Then I would return home to a hero's welcome and have nice things said of me for the rest of my life."[29] Others felt the same way and when the Korean War rolled around, they determined to pay their debt to America and become heroes in their own right, heroes worthy of depiction on the silver screen.[30]

If exposure to World War II influenced the young men of the Korean generation to enlist, it sometimes had a different effect on young women. The movies occasionally depicted nurses, WAVES, or WACS as American heroines, but many returning fathers, brothers and sweethearts sang a different tune about female military service. Rather than touting feminine heroics and the glamour of wartime nursing, protective fathers stressed the uncertainty of military life. Brothers offered favorable appraisals in general of "women in uniform EXCEPT that they do not think it is good for their sisters."[31] Boyfriends frequently went further, associating women in service with immorality and poor reputation.[32] All in all, "they would say bad things about the women in the service."[33] No wonder then that by the time of the Korean War, female recruiters faced a difficult task, to convince women to join the military despite negative feedback from their family

[29] James Ryan, "The Chit," 1, an unpublished piece included by the author with *Korean War Veteran Survey*, CFSOKW.
[30] It should be noted that even before the Korean War many men expected to serve in the military for at least a part of their lives. Richard Bevier notes, "It was universally accepted that upon graduation from high school, all fit young men would hasten to apply for enlistment in the branch of service of their choice." Richard Bevier, *Korean War Veteran Survey*, 3, CFSOKW.
[31] Public Relations Coordinator, Defense Advisory Committee on Women in the Services, Office of the Assistant Secretary of Defense, "Policy Guide for Women in the Armed Services Information Program 1953 U. S. Army, U. S. Navy, U. S. Air Force, U. S. Marine Corps," 8, Staff Files, Files of the Special Assistant Relating to the Office of Coordinator of Government Public Service Advertising, Women in the Services—Correspondence 1952-53, Box 9, folder "Women in the Service (Policy Material)," Dwight David Eisenhower Library, Abilene, Kansas (Hereafter, DDE Library).
[32] *Ibid*.
[33] Grace S. Alexander, Interview by Hermann J. Trojanowski, 20 January 1999, Women Veterans Historical Project, Oral History Collection, University of North Carolina at Greensboro, 10-11. (Hereafter WVHP, OHC, UNCG)

or friends.[34] Still, women were not immune to the patriotism engendered by the Second World War and the Korean Conflict did claim its share of servicewomen. They did not always muster in for the same reasons as their male counterparts, but women also remembered the patriotic lessons of their youth.[35] Margie Jacob and a multitude of others could claim "patriotic response" as an important reason for their enlistment in the years after World War II.[36]

With the surrender of the Germans and then the Japanese, American patriotism soared to new heights as did American gratitude toward those who had fought. Noisy parades, tickertape, and a flurry of speeches and parties greeted returning G.I.s. In almost every town, bands played songs commemorating World War II soldiers and organizations like the American Veterans of World War II (AMVETS) sprouted to represent and pay homage to the new veterans. Unlike their counterparts from earlier wars, World War II veterans also received very generous support from the federal government. The Servicemen's Readjustment Act of 1944, or the G.I. Bill of Rights as it was more commonly known, allotted federal money to help veterans buy homes and businesses or go to school.[37] Within a few years, some 8 million veterans had spent about $14 billion taking advantage of these educational benefits. So many ex-G.I.s entered college, in fact, that many universities had to set up Quonset huts on campus to house all of them. The men and

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[34] *Ibid*.

[35] In the early 1950s, an Air Force study of female enlistment found that women joined military service for five basic reasons: overseas service (travel), self-improvement and education, interesting work, to meet new people and make new friends, and out of patriotism. These reasons might not differ so much from the reasons that men joined up, but men seem far more likely in their memoirs, interviews, and surveys to stress the relationship between their enlistment and their experiences with patriotism during World War II. See Office of the Assistant Secretary of Defense, Memorandum for the Advertising Council, "Information About Women in the Armed Services," 8 December 1952, 5, Staff Files, Files of the Special Assistant Relating to the Office of Coordinator of Government Public Service Advertising, Women in the Services—Correspondence 1952-53, Box 9, folder "Women in the Service (Policy Material)," DDE Library.

[36] Margaret S. Jacob, *Korean War Veteran Survey*, 3, CFSOKW.

[37] The World War II GI Bill subsidized tuition, fees, and books for veterans attending college or some other approved institution (such as a trade school or in some cases a secondary school for those who did not yet have a high school diploma).

women entering college directly from high school could not help but be impressed with the older veterans in their midst. In his memoir, Charles Cole notes, "[We] were continually reminded both of sacrifice and patriotism. We seemed a humble minority in the flood of returning ex-G.I.s who shared our classes."[38] Certainly, not all of those who served in World War II benefited from it or could take advantage of the programs designed to help them ease back into civilian life, but from the perspective of the generation just a step younger, veterans had become a special group in society, revered, honored, and remunerated. The men and women who would muster in for the Korean War would expect to do their duty, but they would also expect the same gratitude on the part of the nation that sent them.

World War II caused some peculiar fallout for the Korean War generation. When it ended, it left America at peace, but it also left in place the Selective Service system of 1940. Though President Truman was dismantling the military at an almost alarming rate, males ages 21-36 still had to register for the draft and were liable for one year of active duty and ten years in the reserves.[39] After an aborted attempt to replace the Selective Service Act with a Universal Military Training bill, Congress passed the Selective Service Act of 1948 which lowered the ages of eligibility for registration to 18-26, set the age of induction at 19-26, and increased the tour of duty to 21 months.[40] Boys maturing during and after World War II would find the draft an ever-present force in their lives.

The changed landscape of the world in the postwar years, however, made military service both less likely and more tolerable. The Second World War divided the globe into newly minted

[38] Charles F. Cole, *Korea Remembered: Enough of a War: The USS Ozbourn's First Korean Tour, 1950-1951* (Las Cruces, NM: Yucca Tree Press, 1995), 20.
[39] Flynn, *The Draft*, 7.
[40] Black leaders like A. Philip Randolph in particular refused to support Universal Military Training because such a law would require that African Americans serve in a segregated Army. See Paul T. Murray, "Blacks and the Draft: A History of Institutional Racism," *Journal of Black Studies* 2:1 (September 1971), 66-9.

great powers, like the United States and the Soviet Union, and vanquished countries, a category that included almost everyone else. And while the atomic bomb would eventually scare Americans right out of their homes and into underground shelters, in 1945 the country's sole guardianship of atomic weaponry provided a certain "atomic security."[41] Russia might loom threateningly on the horizon, but it would not take American ground troops to quell any difficulties—nuclear weapons would do the trick. Even as late as 1949 when the Soviet Union exploded their own A-Bomb, few Americans suspected that American boys might be called to fight in another war with traditional weapons and tactics. Evidently, Harry Truman did not think so either. By March 1949, the organized reserves had been pared down to 746,000 and by the end of the year all branches of the military halted enlistments. The regular Army had strength of only 591,000 by mid-1950, somewhat strange in light of the fact that only recently Russia had exploded its own atomic bomb, Mao had seized mainland China for communism, containment had made military assistance to Greece and Turkey necessary, and Europe had depended on the Marshall Plan to shore them up against further decline and the potential siren song of communism.[42] Stranger still, young Americans continued to believe throughout what would later be viewed as unsettling if not turbulent events that they could count on one thing—they would not be required for the same kind of wartime service that veterans of World War II had performed. Any war would be a worldwide affair and it would be fought with nuclear weapons rather than conventional armies.[43]

Unfortunately, the men and women born a little too late to muster into America's World War II military machine would be just in time to discover that the atomic security they believed

[41] For the transformation of American attitudes toward nuclear weapons, see Paul Boyer, *By the Bomb's Early Light: American Thought and Culture at the Dawn of the Atomic Age* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1985).
[42] Flynn, *The Draft*, 109.
[43] For an echo of this thought in a Korean War veteran's memoir, see Cole, *Korea Remembered*, 20.

in was no security at all. Despite organized demands by citizens in Shawnee, Oklahoma and elsewhere that the government drop atomic bombs on Korea and use nuclear weapons on the battlefield, the "police action" in Korea from 1950 to 1953 would be fought like thousands of wars before—by soldiers mucking around on the ground with guns.[44] On the bright side, probably no generation of American youth before or since was better prepared to deal with such a reversal of fortune than that which grew up to fight in Korea. Despite ethnic, racial, religious, political, and regional differences, they all listened to the same baseball games at night on the radio, wore the same clothes, shopped at the local A&P, ate macaroni and cheese for dinner, and most importantly absorbed those lessons of hard work, obedience, and duty to country from their childhood experiences.[45] So when the country called on them in June 1950 and in the months and years after, those selected from among their Korean War cohorts heeded the call. No strong, organized draft protest ever developed during the Korean Conflict as it had in earlier wars and as would resurface with Vietnam and very few men attempted to dodge the draft. Out of the roughly 2 million men involuntarily inducted from 1950 to 1953, only 20,080 ever faced prosecution for violating the draft and of those only 9890 were convicted.[46] Like Jimmie Clark they understood that "It's your privilege to disagree, but not disobey" and so "off we went to unknown places to serve our country as our leaders suggested."[47]

Still, not all soldiers marched willingly or happily to the Korean War, and it is remarkable that so few resisted the draft or protested the war itself, simply resigning themselves to their fates. Separated by only a little over a decade from their younger brothers and sisters of

[44] Rose, *Cold War Comes to Main Street*, 291-301.
[45] Lizabeth Cohen's monograph, *Making a New Deal: Industrial Workers in Chicago, 1919-1939*, 2nd edition (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990), explains that throughout the 1930s differences between Americans were becoming less and less profound.
[46] Flynn, *The Draft*, 127-128.
[47] Jimmie L. Clark, Memoir (Korean War Educator), 1.

the Vietnam War, why did Korean soldiers not burn their draft cards and line the street in front of the White House demanding an end to the conflict? The answer lies in part in their timing. The late 1940s and early 1950s were years of conformity. The second Red Scare made Americans look carefully at anyone who stepped outside the political or social bounds and the consequences for such deviance could be devastating not only to individuals but to their families. Homosexuals found themselves investigated as security risks, advocates of peace suffered charges of communism, and outspoken critics of segregation had passports revoked. World War II might have stirred up some resentment against the status quo and restlessness on the part of African Americans, Hispanics, women, and others, but such disillusionment would not blossom into full blown rights revolutions until the 1960s and for the time being consensus about American life in general remained virtually unshaken. When men grew up, they became the man in the gray flannel suit, married June Cleaver, and raised a family.[48] And when asked to fight on behalf of American conformity to the doctrine of containment, they marched to war.

Unknown to them at the time, these children of the Great Depression and Second World War would be the last of their kind, a generation characterized by unquestioning obedience and trust. Their war, the war for conformity, would turn out to be one of a series of pivotal events spinning Americans in a thousand directions and creating more questions than answers. The Cold War would harden and become ever more frightening, pushing Americans toward less consensual and more precarious conformity at home. Communism would be exposed as fractured and splintered rather than monolithic, leading many to question the necessity of fighting it at all. Joseph McCarthy would reveal himself as a red-baiting, demagogic bully in the

[48] See Elaine Tyler May, *Homeward Bound: American Families in the Cold War Era* (New York: Basic Books, 1999).

Army-McCarthy hearings, sickening those who watched it on television. Segregation would end and the national Civil Rights Movement would gear up, dividing the country on questions of race. Women, Native Americans, and Mexicans would challenge the status quo, redrawing societal expectations. Government leaders would prove untrustworthy, paving the way for future generations to question authority. Worldly and jaded G.I.s taking advantage of the World War II and Korean G.I. Bills would transform education, generating new lessons that bred less optimistic, more critical students. And Korea would become a reference point for those summoned to fight in Vietnam, leaving many young men and women unable to find a successful patriotic answer to whether or not the new war was worth it. Twenty years after the Korean War, the country was the same but the people had changed—they were still all Americans but the old homogeny and agreement born of the Great Depression and World War II was gone.

The men who fought in Korea and the women who served in theater were no braver than the soldiers at Khe Sanh, Grenada, Panama, Mogadishu, or Iraq. In the history of American soldiers and veterans, they can claim no monopoly on that active love of country sometimes labeled patriotism. But, a different America had produced them and more than the draftees of Vietnam or the all-volunteer force of recent years, they carried into battle and overseas duty the certainty that where they led the country would follow. In 1950 or 1951, they were too young to remember other American wars fought for lesser motives with less enthusiasm on the part of citizens than World War II. Perhaps naively they imagined that they were marching to the beat of the same drums that had carried their fathers, brothers, and older sisters to France or Germany in the Second or even the First Great War. They could not yet hear that the tune was changing and that those values embedded in them during a childhood of economic trouble and war were becoming if not outdated at least less universal. When they returned, Korean War soldiers and

service women discovered that the country they thought they were leading had outpaced them and moved on and they felt forgotten. This is their story.

CHAPTER 2: MUSTERING IN

"Lord I got my questionnaire, Uncle Sam's gonna send me away from here/He said J. B. you know that I need you, Lord I need you in South Korea."—stanza of "Korea Blues."[1]

"Greetings from the President of the United States."—from Jimmie L. Clark's draft letter.[2]

"He was like a million other guys. Whenever folly, blunder, wasted power, brought again the need for them, they came."—From Jackland Marmur, "The Bloodstained Beach."[3]

"In the old country they say you gotta go in the army, you go. But here no one says you gotta go in these Marines. Why you go? You don't like your home, your family, whatsamatter?"—Joe DeMarco's father when he enlisted in 1948.[4]

"You'll be sooooorry!" The taunt from those who knew, who had already been there, usually came just a little too late—like after raw recruits or inductees had already signed away a year or two or five of their lives to the military.[5] And by then, many of those being warned already felt sorry. Mustering into the U. S. Armed Forces during the Korean War era, as in other periods, sometimes amounted to nothing short of humiliation or hassle. For enlistees, the process began with a trip to the nearest recruitment office, frequently located in the local Post Office. Rural or small town residents might have had to travel to a larger community, but that in itself presented little hardship, unless of course one were black. In that case, special arrangements would have had to be made for travel, food, and lodging since de jure and de facto segregation throughout much of the country, and especially in the South, limited one's options.

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[1] "Korea Blues" quoted in Doris Schmidt, "Americans Change Their Tune: The Korean War in Country and Folk Music, as Represented in Billboard and Sing Out! Magazines," 49, Box "A.0776 to A.0806," folder 0784, Center for the Study of the Korean War, Graceland University, Independence, Missouri (Hereafter CFSOKW).
[2] Jimmie L. Clark, Memoir (Korean War Educator website at http://www.koreanwar-educator.org/), 1.
[3] Jackland Marmur, "The Bloodstained Beach," in F. VanWyck Mason, ed., *American Men at Arms: The Best of Fiction From Three Wars* (Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1964), 564.
[4] Joe DeMarco quoted in Henry Berry, *Hey Mac, Where Ya Been? Living Memories of the U. S. Marines in the Korean War* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1988), 133.
[5] Glenn Schroeder recalls that when he arrived at the San Diego Naval Training Center a group of guys who had recently finished training kept yelling "You'll be sooorry" over and over at the group of trainees just entering. Glenn Schroeder, Memoir (Korean War Educator) 3.

Once at the recruitment center, the potential enlistee gave background information—age, race, educational level, marital status, number and ages of dependents, criminal record, etc.—to "fast-typing sergeants" who quickly created a file for the applicant.[6] Enlistees before the outbreak of hostilities in Korea also had to supply three letters of recommendation written on their behalf.[7] Anita Bean, a foster child from the age of three when her mother passed away, had to get her referrals from the state when she enlisted in 1950.[8] If everything looked good—age between 18 and 26 for males (or 17 with a parent's signature) and 21 to 35 for females (or 18 to 35 with a parent's consent), apparent good health, no evidence of an immoral character such as would warrant an administrative disqualification, and in the case of women single with no dependents under age 18—the candidate moved to the next level, the mental qualification exam.[9] Men, women, enlistees, and draftees all took the AFQT (Armed Forces Qualification Test) or

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[6] "100 Volunteer for Army, Air Force in Single Day," *Baltimore Afro-American*, 5 August 1950, 7.

[7] Several veterans mention this, including James Coulos and Donald M. Byers, Army Service (Korean War) Questionnaire, page 1 for both surveys, 2nd Division, 23rd Regiment, Alphabetical Box 1, Department of the Army, U. S. Army Military History Institute, Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania (Hereafter Carlisle Barracks).

[8] Anita Bean, *Korean War Veteran Survey*, 2, CFSOKW.

[9] The ages accepted varied somewhat by branch of service. The Marine Corps accepted men 17-28, but the Air Force usually required applicants to be 19 or 20, depending on what one wanted to do. "Report on Conditions of Military Service for the President's Commission on Veterans Pensions," 15-17, U. S. President's Commission on Veterans' Pensions (Bradley Commission): Records, 1954-58, A 69-22 and 79-6, Box 58, Dwight David Eisenhower Library, Abilene, Kansas. (Hereafter Bradley Commission and DDE Library). Many things could qualify for apparent bad health. Listening to news of the Korean War, Charlie Carmen heard that his old outfit, Baker Company 5th Marines, was engaged in hard fighting and decided to reenlist. He had been in a car wreck some time earlier and still had unhealed cuts which prompted the Marine recruiter to refuse his enlistment. Charlie had to wait until all of his cuts healed before being reaccepted into the Corps. By then he had lost his status as sergeant and had to go in as a private first class. Charlie Carmen, Memoir (Korean War Educator), 1. While there were strict age limits for entering the military even with parental consent, enlistees rarely had to provide proof of age and numerous accounts exist of boys as young as 15 or 16 joining the service. In all, some 200,000 veterans of World War II and the Korean Conflict are believed to have joined the military as underage kids. Such was the case with Don Green whose father died leaving 11 kids on a family farm in Nevada. At age 14 Green saw military service as his only way out of poverty and so joined up. He turned 16 while fighting in Korea. "Military Veterans Say They Were Underage," *New York Times*, 29 October 2003, Article 0654, CFSOKW. Similarly, Charles Marx, pressed by economic worries, asked his mother to sign him into the Air Force. On his fifteenth birthday he was sworn into service as a 17 year old. Professor Charles Marx, Oral History by Dr. Orley Caudill, 28 October 1976, Mississippi Oral History Program, University of Southern Mississippi, Hattiesburg, Mississippi, 4. Even more shocking, Richard Cecil Jones, a 13 year old African American boy, joined the Army and did duty at two different camps before writing home to have his mother get him out of the service. See "Lad, 13, 'Jives' Army, Does 145 Days…Bubble Bursts," *Pittsburgh Courier*, 2 February 1952, 13. Also, "Soldier, 14, Coming Home," *New York Times*, 11 April 1951, 31.

similar exams at either a recruitment center or an examining station.[10] A hybrid aptitude-intelligence test consisting of 100 questions covering vocabulary, math, spatial relations, and mechanical ability, the AFQT determined the fitness for service of the inductee or enlistee and indicated where a passing candidate might fit in the military machinery, what MOS (military occupational specialty) or job best suited them. With less access to quality classroom education, minorities such as African Americans scored lower on the AFQT and had much higher rejection rates than whites.[11] A low score, though perhaps embarrassing, did not necessarily mean rejection, however. High school graduates "were automatically declared acceptable even if they failed to achieve the required score on the test."[12] And, prior to any disqualification, low-scoring registrants with less than a high school degree met with personnel psychologists who conducted personal interviews to establish whether or not they had the mental ability to serve.[13] Also, as manpower needs went up, the minimum acceptable score on the mental exams went down.[14] In

[10] After October 1951, medical and mental exams were both performed by the Armed Forces Examining Stations. Prior to that, Induction stations gave the mental test. After 31 December 1952, women took the Armed Forces Women's Selection Test (AFWST) rather than the AFQT. "Enlistment Procedures," 16, (Bradley Commission): Records 1954-58, A 69-22 and 79-6, Box 58, DDE Library. For a more detailed discussion of the AFQT, see Bernard D. Karpinos, "Mental Test Failures," in Sol Tax, *The Draft: A Handbook of Facts and Alternatives* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1967), 35-53.

[11] Harold Wool, "Military Manpower Procurement and Supply," in Roger W. Little, ed., *Social Research and Military Management: A Survey of Military Institutions* (Inter-University Seminar on Armed Forces, Inc., September 1969, AFOSR 70-0661TR), 41 and 44. Just prior to the Korean War, 62% of blacks scored in the lower percentile ranges of the AFQT compared with 33% of whites. While many were still mustered in, they received different MOS's and assignments than those who scored higher. Leo Bogart, ed., *Project Clear: Social Research and the Desegregation of the United States Army* (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 1992), xxiii. During the war 69% of white accessions scored above mental group IV but only 21% of other groups did. About 4.3% of whites and 31.3% of other registrants entered the military via administrative acceptances. "Section 1: Selection Process," 20, (Bradley Commission): Records, 1954-58, A 69-22 and 79-6, Box 58, DDE Library.

[12] "Report on Conditions of Military Service for the President's Commission on Veterans Pensions," TAB AF-1, (Bradley Commission): Records, 1954-58, A 69-22 and 79-6, Box 58, DDE Library.

[13] "Processing Procedures, 1950-1953 (Reproduced from 'Medical Statistics of the United States Army,' 1953; in press.),"48, (Bradley Commission): Records, 1954-58, A 69-22 and 79-6, Box 58, DDE Library.

[14] During wartime, the military not infrequently lowers standards for service in order to fill the ranks rapidly. In the Iraq War, borderline troops not only ended up qualifying for positions beyond their capabilities, but ended up on the front. See Dan Ephron, "He Should Never Have Gone to Iraq," *Newsweek* 151: 26 (30 June 2008), 33-34.

September 1949, one needed to score at least 49% to qualify for service, but by July 1951, 10% would do the trick.[15]

Those found mentally acceptable had only one more obstacle to overcome before being sworn into their chosen branch of the military, the often dreaded physical exam. While female veterans rarely mention the physical at all in their writings and interviews, male veterans frequently describe it as "a very dehumanizing experience."[16] Male enlistees and draftees lined up either naked or in their skivvies as military medical staff walked along examining them one by one, checking, among other things, private parts for signs of disease, rectums for hemorrhoids, and feet for flatness.[17] All that remained for physically fit recruits and inductees was to take their oaths and then catch a train or bus to basic training. For most this proved pretty uneventful after the drawn out processing-in, but for some it provided a measure of excitement. Ralph David Fly, enlisting in the Navy, had his June 1951 swearing-in at a movie theater in Seattle just before the premiere of what else but Gary Cooper's "You're in the Navy Now!"[18] For their troubles, these new Marines, soldiers, and sailors received, after reaching their destinations and waiting in yet another line, their new military issue clothing. Even many of those who had not wanted to join the service to begin with could not help but admire and be proud of their wonderful new uniforms. At the end of all the lines and red tape and after much

[15] In the years before Korea, when manpower needs and enlistment and draft quotas were low, the minimum acceptable score on the AFQT kept increasing. In March 1947, a score of 31% was acceptable, but by September 1949 one needed at least 49%. The Korean War's manpower shortage caused the minimum score to drop. In July 1950, non-high school graduates continued to need a 49%, but high school graduates slipped by with 31%. With Chinese intervention in November 1950, the levels dropped again and all male applicants scoring 21% were accepted. By July 1951, the standards dropped dramatically. Males achieving only 10% on the AFQT were considered fit for service. "Report on Conditions of Military Service for the President's Commission on Veterans Pensions," TAB AF-1, (Bradley Commission): Records, 1954-58, A 69-22 and 79-6, Box 58, DDE Library.
[16] Ralph David Fly, Memoir (Korean War Educator), 2.
[17] *Ibid*.
[18] *Ibid.*

anticipation or dread, entrants finally came to be officially mustered into the United States Armed Forces.[19]

Such was the scenario played out millions of times during the Korean War as young men and women had to be newly mustered or re-mustered into the Armed Forces of the United States in order to fill out the ranks. After World War II ended, President Harry S Truman and his military planners focused on preparing for worldwide atomic war.[20] In the new era of superpowers, no one expected conventional weapons or troops to play much of a role. As a result, the various branches of the U. S. military had been pared down by 1950 to the point where the government itself conceded that more money would have to be spent rebuilding the Armed Forces if the country wanted to present a credible posture against communist aggression.[21] With the outbreak of war in Korea in late June 1950 and Truman's determination to use American troops to "police" the fray, the need for a bigger military became even more acute. Initially, General Douglas MacArthur pulled troops on duty in Japan for the Korean operation, but quickly realized that these would not suffice. Not only were the garrison forces there unprepared for combat after months or even years of easy duty, they were understrength as well.[22] Before long, American soldiers in Korea found themselves cornered in the Pusan Perimeter. Replacements

[19] In actuality, the order of events after passing the mental qualification test could vary. Some were sworn in immediately and then issued clothes, others had to travel somewhere in order to take the oath, and yet more were issued clothing only once they reached basic training.
[20] W. D. McGlasson, "Manpower for the Korean War," *VFW* (June/July 1990), 23, Article 0057, CFSOKW and William T. Bowers, William M. Hammond, and George L. MacGarrigle, *Black Soldier, White Army: The 24th Infantry Regiment in Korea* (Washington D.C.: Center of Military History, United States Army, 1996), 29.
[21] In National Security Council (NSC) 68, produced in April 1950, the government acknowledged the inadequacy of the U. S. armed forces. George Q. Flynn, *The Draft, 1940-1973*, (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1993), 110. See also James L. Stokesbury, *A Short History of the Korean War* (New York: William Morrow and Company, 1988), chapter 2, for a discussion of the Armed Forces on the eve of the Korean War.
[22] It is interesting to note that more than a few of those stationed in Japan and subsequently sent to Korea had at one time been classified "limited service" for mental or physical reasons. Some time after World War II, the classification had been abolished, and with their consent these soldiers were put on "general duty," but many were given comfortable assignments in quiet places like Japan. Many of these became psychiatric casualties after only a few days of combat in Korea, further weakening the U. S. presence there. Albert J. Glass, "Psychiatry in the Korean Campaign," *U. S. Armed Forces Medical Journal* 4:10 (October 1953), 1392-1393.

and more units would be needed immediately.[23] The Army, Navy, Air Force, and Marines, only recently turning away enlistees, suddenly needed to fill uniforms and fast.

All branches of the service stepped up their attempts to attract voluntary recruits and to keep the servicemen they had on hand by offering enticements for reenlistment or simply by extending involuntarily enlistments that were due to expire. For its part, the Army made especially good use of the Selective Service System, the draft, to fulfill its manpower needs. But, new recruits, voluntary or otherwise, took time to train, time that MacArthur insisted U. S. troops in Korea did not have. By July 9, 1950 Congress authorized the call up of Reserve troops.[24] Typically these would have been used to train new soldiers, but with the situation critical, many found themselves promptly headed for the combat zone. The combination seemed a winning one. MacArthur's daring mid-September Inchon landing secured South Korea and by early October American troops were pressing into North Korea. Draft calls, enlistment quotas and the military's manpower needs should have fallen to near prewar levels, but as luck would have it a new and unexpected enemy entered the fight.[25] Chinese "volunteers" crossed the Yalu on October 16, 1950 and by November 26 the Chinese had trapped and destroyed much of the United Nations force in North Korea, including about 20,000 Koreans and Americans at Chosin Reservoir. The boys would not be home by Christmas. Instead, many more would be needed for what was metamorphosing into a much longer conflict than anticipated. The whole process of filling the ranks took on new life and another generation of young Americans found it their turn

[23] Flynn, *The Draft, 1940-1973*, 112-113.
[24] *Ibid*., 113.
[25] Chinese Premier Chou En-lai told Indian Ambassador Pannikar that China would not intervene in the war if only South Korean troops crossed the 38th Parallel but that China would intervene if United States troops did. The Indians quickly gave this information to the British who in turn warned the Americans. The C.I.A., President Truman, and Secretary of State Dean Acheson, however, did not take the threat seriously and as a result did not anticipate Chinese intervention. James L. Stokesbury, *A Short History of the Korean War* (New York: William Morrow & Company, 1988), 83.

to heed the nation's call to arms. Through enlistments, Reserve recalls, National Guard call-ups, and the draft, over 6 million men and women mustered into the U. S. military during the Korean War period.[26] No doubt more than a few of them were very "soooorry!"

The Volunteers

The Korean War rekindled a dying Selective Service System that in fiscal years 1948 and 1950 had not even drafted anybody. Even after the U.S. entered the Korean War, inductees rarely comprised more than 38% of those entering Uncle Sam's military.[27] Volunteers, guardsmen, and reservists accounted for the majority of those who served.[28] When the war began in June 1950, career soldiers and leftover World War II volunteers or recruits from the interwar period made up the backbone of the Armed Forces. For them, the military made signing on for the Korean effort easy—the various branches simply extended expiring enlistments involuntarily.[29] But, in the three years that followed, a million and a half new enlistees joined the old salts. Why did these choose to voluntarily enter into wartime military service? And why had the older volunteers enlisted in the first place?

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[26] Although the armistice was signed in July 1953, the Korean War era is generally defined as June 25, 1950 to January 31, 1955. In these years, 6,807,000 men and women served in the U. S. armed forces. "Cost of War," Central/Official files, OF 152-H, Box 819, DDE Library.

[27] Flynn, *The Draft, 1940-1973*, 119. This is consistent with the Vietnam War when draftees, draft-motivated enlistees, and true volunteers each accounted for about one third of those serving. Christian G. Appy, *Working-Class War: American Combat Soldiers and Vietnam* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1993), 128. B. G. Burkett, *Stolen Valor: How the Vietnam Generation was Robbed of its Heroes and its History* (Dallas, TX: Verity Press, Inc., 1998), 52. During World War II, however, over half of those who served were draftees. "National Survey of Veterans, 1987," National Archives, RG 015, Box 1 (hereafter NA).

[28] It should be noted that not all volunteers joined the Korean War military willingly. Reservists and National Guardsmen tended to be volunteers in the sense that they chose to sign up, but they neither expected nor, in most cases, wanted to be called to active duty. See below.

[29] As early as July 18, 1950, only a couple of weeks after the beginning of the Korean Conflict, the Air Force had already extended all enlistments set to expire before July 18, 1951 by 12 months. The Extension of Enlistment Act of 1950 authorized the President until July 9, 1951 to extend the enlistments of members of the armed services by twelve months.

For males, the draft provided the most obvious reason to enlist.[30] Under the Selective Service Act of 1948, men 18 to 26 had to register for the draft and those 19 to 26 were eligible for a 21 month tour of duty.[31] Even non-citizens found themselves draft vulnerable under the 1948 law unless they were willing to sacrifice the possibility of future naturalization.[32] In the pre-Korea years, the likelihood of being drafted remained low and few men received notices for induction. But, if drafted, the chances of entering the Army were high since only the Army and Marine Corps actually admitted draftees. The Air Force and Navy relied on all-volunteer forces. After Truman began committing troops to Korea in June 1950, draft calls skyrocketed from their previous levels and many more youths could expect their names to be chosen. Like Glen Schroeder, many young men simply enlisted in order to have a choice about which branch they served. Glen joined the Navy to "avoid being a grunt….I didn't want to crawl around in the mud, but go to sea instead."[33] Similarly, James Brady "rather liked the idea of being an officer, and the Marines had an undeniable cachet."[34] Others simply did not want to wait around for the draft to call them. Like Huston Wheelock they "wanted to get it over with and serve my time."

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[30] Often the draft is cited as the "most important single factor motivating young men to volunteer for service." Wool, "Military Manpower Procurement and Supply," in Little, ed., *Social Research and Military Management*, 70.

[31] The Universal Military Training and Service Act of June 1951 lowered the age of induction to 18.5 and lengthened the term of service to 24 months. Draft vulnerable ages in part account for the relative youthfulness of Korean enlisted men when compared to earlier wars. In World War I, men 18 to 40 inclusive and in both World War II and the Spanish American War men 18-45 inclusive were required to register for Selective Service. Thus the average age of the Korean War soldier was 23 while his World War II counterpart was 26. "Report on Conditions of Military Service for the President's Commission on Veterans Pensions," table 2a, and "Section 11," 8, (Bradley Commission): Records, 1954-58, A 69-22 and 79-6, Box 58 and 61 respectively, DDE Library.

[32] By 1951, Congress imposed draft liability on all permanent residents and other male aliens who had been in the country a year or more. James B. Jacobs and Leslie Anne Hayes, "Aliens in the U. S. Armed Forces: A Historico-Legal Analysis," *Armed Forces and Society* 7 (1981), 193. Legislation passed on June 30, 1950 (Public Law 597) allowed for the enlistment of 2500 qualified, unmarried male aliens over 18 and under 35 for a term of five years or more. *United States Statutes at Large*, 81st Congress, 2d Session 1950-1951, volume 64, part I, Public Laws and Reorganization Plans (Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1952), 316. Some men, of course, did choose to go back to their native countries rather than be drafted—even if they had become naturalized citizens. See "Two Delinquents Now Abroad," *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, 9 August 1950, 18.

[33] Glen Schroeder, Memoir (Korean War Educator), 2.

[34] James Brady, "Leaving for Korea," *American Heritage* 48:1 (February-March 1997), 72.

Wheelock did not even care which service he went into, selecting the Marines because that was the first recruiter he ran into at the office![35] Ford Dixon wanted to finish his military obligations before entering college, so at 17 he mustered in.[36] Donald Bohlmann and others chose to enlist in National Guard units even if they were due to be activated because if they had to serve they wanted to "be amongst people I knew." [37]

Still more volunteered for the National Guard in an attempt to either beat the draft or escape the war. Classified I-A (available for service), Frank Rowan discovered through a friend that he could fulfill his military obligations by joining the California National Guard, serving 7 years and becoming exempt from being drafted into the Army. It did not work out quite as he planned, though. Lured by the extra "rations and quarters" pay and the privilege of wearing the uniform to work, Rowan went on duty as an "Active Duty National Guardsman," then got conscripted into the regular Army and shipped to Korea in the early months of the war.[38] Bob Carpenter, owner of the Philadelphia Phillies, encouraged two of his players, Charlie Bicknell and Curt Simmons, to avoid conscription by joining the Guard in 1949. A year later, their division, the 28th Infantry Division, got orders to activate and prepare for combat. Bicknell got sold to the Braves, sent down to the minors on waivers, and played his last game on September 6, 1950, the same day he left for basic training.[39] These cases were not unusual and many men

[35] Dawn Scher Thomae, "Wisconsin Warriors: Interviews with Native American Veterans," *LORE* 43:3 (September 1993), 9-18 (online at www.mpm.edu/collect/vet.html).
[36] Ford Dixon, Army Service (Korean War) Questionnaire, 1, 1st Cavalry Division, Surnames A-L, Carlisle Barracks.
[37] Donald A. Bohlmann, Army Service (Korean War) Questionnaire, 1, 1st Cavalry Division, Surnames A-L, Carlisle Barracks.
[38] Frank Rowan, "History of the 161st Ordnance Depot Company and the 502nd Ordnance Depot Platoon 1948/1952," updated 9 October 2001, 1-5, included with *Korean War Veteran Survey*, CFSOKW.
[39] G. Richard McKelvey, *The Bounce: Baseball Teams' Great Falls and Comebacks* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Company, 2001), 92.

who joined either the National Guard or Reserves found that these did not offer a safe haven from service in Korea.

Others thought joining either the Navy or Air Force might keep them out of harm's way. Ralph Fly's father pressured him to join the Navy because "he thought it would keep me out of Korea."[40] For Franklin Manzar, the draft was imminent and so he "joined the Air Force with the intention of not going to Korea."[41] Such plans might have worked out for some boys, but like these, many ended up serving active duty in Korea. Navy and Air Force enlistees went in fewer numbers to the war zone than dogfaces or Marines but they still went.

To be sure, male volunteers often hoped to get a better deal than the draft by enlisting, but a shorter time in service was not one of the perks. Inductees served between 21 and 24 months active duty, but volunteers faced considerably longer periods of service. In the Army, Selective Service registrants could enlist for the same period of time as draftees, but entering the regular Army meant a term of between 3 and 6 years. The Navy offered only 4 or 6 year tours of duty, regardless of Selective Service status and the Naval Reserve required 4 years.[42] At the beginning of the Korean War, the Marine Corps only had 4 and 6 year enlistments, but in August 1950 the Corps began offering 3 year terms as well. One could join the Marine Corps Reserve for 3 or 4 years.[43] The Air Force accepted volunteers for 3, 4, 5, or 6 years.[44] Under the Universal Military Training and Service Act of 1951, anyone under 26 mustering into the

[40] Ralph David Fly, Memoir (Korean War Educator), 2.
[41] Franklin Kenneth Manzar (AFC 2001/001/16128), Folder 3, Interview by Alexa Kapilow, 1 February 2003), 1, VHPC, AFC, LOC.
[42] The Navy did give applicants under 18 a "minority term," meaning that these served only until some time before their 21st birthday. Women in the Navy signed up for the same terms as men.
[43] After November 1952, men who had previous Marine service could enlist for 2, 3, 4, or 6 year enlistments. There seems to have been an earlier precedent for three year enlistments during the 1948-1949 military doldrums. Ralph Cutro enlisted on November 29, 1949 for three years. Email Ralph Cutro to Melinda Pash, 24 December 2005, in author's possession.
[44] Female medical and dental personnel and nurses could enlist in the Navy for 2 years, but others had to serve 3 years like the men.

military for the first time had an 8 year obligation to be served either on active duty or in the reserves. Even if a volunteer banked on a short war, they could not count on serving a reduced time in the military like their World War I or World War II counterparts whose terms of enlistment held them no longer than six months beyond the period of the emergency.[45] But for some, choosing their branch of service or gambling that their reserve unit would not be needed proved enough incentive to volunteer. All in all, draft pressure almost doubled the number of male enlistments per month.[46]

While the draft provided a potent inducement to enlistment, men and women volunteered during the Korean War era for other reasons as well. Left-over patriotism from the Second World War along with a sense of nostalgia or duty compelled many to answer the call to colors. Fred Smith remembers that after World War II, "patriotism…was an important part of our lives…and we felt we needed to do something for our country."[47] Arthur Smith agreed "because all the guys went through World War II to do their thing to save this country, and I thought that's what we were doing."[48] Warren Grossman wanted to offer "service to my country in time of need."[49] Clyde Queen "felt a compelling obligation to serve my country…and to me that was the most important thing in my life."[50] Even women, who often entered service for what might be termed "practical" reasons, remark that volunteering "had a kind of patriotic sense about it in

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[45] "Section X: Duration of Service," 8-12, (Bradley Commission): Records, 1954-58, A 69-22 and 79-6, Box 61, DDE Library.
[46] With the absence of the draft in 1947, only 9-14,000 men enlisted per month. After Truman requested a new draft in March 1948, enlistments increased to 20,000 per month. 40% of enlistees who were polled admitted that they enlisted in order to avoid the draft. For the Korean War years, as many as 60% of male enlistments are believed to have been draft-motivated. See Flynn, *The Draft*, 118.
[47] Commander Fred Ewing Smith in Frances Omori, *Quiet Heroes: Navy Nurses of the Korean War, 1950-1953, Far East Command* (St. Paul, MN: Smith House Press, 2000), 84.
[48] Arthur Smith, Memoir (Korean War Educator), 1.
[49] Warren Grossman, Army Service (Korean War) Questionnaire, 1, 1st Cavalry Division, Surnames A-L, Carlisle Barracks.
[50] Clyde H. Queen, Sr., (AFC 2001/001/10115), Folder 2, Transcript (Written answers to interview questions), 1, VHPC, AFC, LOC.

doing something for my country."[51] For the same reason, Native Americans also rallied to the flag. In September 1950, Dr. Frank E. Becker, National Secretary of the Indian Association of America, offered the government a plan to organize Native American military reserve units specializing in communications in order to channel the energy of 6000 military age men on reservations for service to the country.[52] Gilbert Towner had heard that Indians, as wards of the government, could be exempted from wartime service, but he thought it a "high honor to fight, anytime, anywhere, to protect the country we love."[53]

Those too young to have participated fully in World War II enlisted in the interwar and Korean War eras because they could not shake the feeling that they had missed something significant. During high school, John Nolan's classmates disappeared as volunteers or inductees, leaving him with "this hang-up feeling that it was an experience that I wanted to share."[54] Anthony Herbert, determined not to miss out, tried to enlist for World War II service at age 14, but his high school principal ratted him out as underage. Three years later, he hurried to enlist again because he knew "that there would be another war, and I would be in it."[55] Arden Grover signed up because he was "not going to sit on the sidelines" if another war broke out.[56] Jack Orth, who had felt cheated when World War II ended, thought himself lucky when Korea came along because: "Now I could go to war." He later reflected that "I must have been nuts," but at

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[51] Shirley Brantley, Interview by Eric Elliot, 2 May 2001, WVHP, OHC, UNCG, 15.
[52] Dr. Frank E. Becker to Harry S Truman, 15 September 1950, Box 35, CFSOKW.
[53] Gilbert Towner, *Korean War Veteran Survey*, 3, CFSOKW. Towner was mistaken about the Selective Service status of Native Americans. In 1940, Native Americans became subject to the draft. Alison R. Bernstein, *American Indians and World War II* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1991), 21-26. By the end of World War II, Native Americans had a 100% registration rate. For more on the evolution of Native American participation in the U.S. military, see Chapter 4 in Tom Holm, *Strong Hearts, Wounded Souls: Native American Veterans of the Vietnam War* (Austin: University of Texas, 1996).
[54] John Edward Nolan, Interview by J. Cantwell, 29 December 1999, American Century Project, St. Andrews Episcopal School Library Archive (online at www.doingoralhistory.org/), 1-2.
[55] Anthony B. Herbert, *Herbert—The Making of a Soldier* (New York: Hippocrene Books, 1982), 12.
[56] Henry Berry, *Hey Mac, Where Ya Been*, 229.

the time memories of what he had missed secured his enlistment.[57] The son of Japanese immigrants, Akira Chikami *had* served in World War II, but missed out on combat so he decided to see what the Korean War could offer him.[58] Seymour Harris, also a World War II veteran, rejoined because "an irresistible urge drew me toward enlistment. I hadn't done all that well with the CBs and wanted another chance to prove myself."[59]

Despite the boom years after World War II, financial need prompted many to muster into military service. As John Kamperschroer recalls, "Patriotic? I don't think so. There was a poor future for farm boys."[60] In the same vein, Wadie Moore asserts "Patriotism never occurred to me. I had one desire. That was to escape degradation and poverty. I mean clapboard, two-room, chicken house kind of poverty."[61] For Gilbert Towner, the reservation had little to offer and he believed he could "take better care of my mother with a steady pay coming from the Marine Corps."[62] Joe Connors, a Chippewa Indian, George Hopkins, Joseph Morey, and Richard Ballenger all needed work and so volunteered.[63] On an internship at Philadelphia General Hospital, Hank Litvin had work but no pay. When a Navy captain came around offering ensign's pay in return for 24 months service after completing his internship, Hank signed up.[64] Douglas Anderson joined up when he ran out of funds for college and Charles Smith, a Native

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[57] *Ibid*., 282.
[58] Lewis H. Carlson, *Remembered Prisoners of a Forgotten War: An Oral History of Korean War POWs* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2000), 37.
[59] Seymour Harris, Jr., Army Service (Korean War) Questionnaire, 1, 2nd Division, 23rd Regiment, Alphabetical Box 2, Carlisle Barracks.
[60] John Kamperschroer, *Korean War Veteran Survey*, 4, CFSOKW.
[61] Sergeant Wadie Moore in Mackey Murdock, *The Forgotten War: Texas Veterans Remember Korea* (Plano, TX: Republic of Texas Press, 2002), 109.
[62] Gilbert Towner, *Korean War Veteran Survey*, 1, CFSOKW.
[63] Dawn Scher Thomae, "Wisconsin Warriors," 9-18. George Hopkins and Joseph Morey, Army Service (Korean War) Questionnaire, 1 (on both surveys), 1st Cavalry Division, Surnames A-L; Richard L. Ballenger, Army Service (Korean War) Questionnaire, 1, 2nd Division, 23rd Regiment, Alphabetical Box 1, Carlisle Barracks.
[64] Henry Litvin, phone conversation with Melinda Pash 30 September 2004, notes in author's possession. Hank finished his internship in July 1950, just in time to accompany the Marines as they landed at Inchon—without any training at all.

American, signed up in hopes of getting G. I. educational benefits. [65] Similarly, Shirley Brantley "was looking for some way to continue my education and get to see something besides Pittsburgh," so she entered the Air Force.[66] Robert Chappell, a black sharecropper, viewed military service as his only ticket to getting any kind of education.[67] Out of money at M.I.T., Richard Kohl joined the U. S. Army Corps of Engineers ROTC because it paid 2/3 of a person's way through school.[68] J. F. Warnock enrolled in ROTC at Utah State University because it promised $27 a month, a lot of cash for a poor college kid.[69] For numerous volunteers, service represented something very tangible—several pairs of shoes, nice clothes, a regular paycheck, and the chance for a better life.[70] Service "was a matter of necessity—the patriotism thing came along a couple of years later."[71]

In some instances, military service provided the only viable option for potential enlistees. Unprepared for college and uncertain about his future, Elmer Payne saw military service as "an escape."[72] Johnson Slivers, a 16 year old Navajo, turned to the Army because he "had nowhere to go."[73] Melvin Rookstool, Elmer Bailey, and James Murphy had places to go alright, but if

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[65] Douglas G. Anderson, Army Service (Korean War) Questionnaire, 1, 2nd Division, 23rd Regiment, Alphabetical Box 1, and Charles H. Smith, Army Service (Korean War) Questionnaire, 1, 1st Cavalry Division, Surnames M-Z, Carlisle Barracks. Although the Korean G.I. Bill did not become a reality until 1952, many potential enlistees hoped that servicemen in the Korean War would receive the same types of benefits accorded to the veterans of World War II.

[66] Shirley Brantley, Interview by Eric Elliot, 2 May 2001, WVHP, OHC, UNCG, 15.

[67] Robert Chappell (AFC 2001/001/188), Folder 2, Interview Robert Chappell by Laura M. Clifton, 23 November, 2001, 1, VHPC, AFC, LOC.

[68] Richard Kohl (AFC 2001/001/1607), Folder 1, "Memories of a Non-Hero During the Korean War," 4 June 1993, 1, VHPC, AFC, LOC.

[69] J. F. Warnock entry at United States of America Korean War Commemoration Website (http://korea50.army.mil/history/remember/index.shtml), 20-23.

[70] Harold Mulhausen notes that for the first time after joining the Marine Corps Reserve he had "3 pairs of shoes at one time." Harold L. Mulhausen and James Edwin Alexander, *Korea: Memories of a U. S. Marine* (Oklahoma City: Macedon Publishing Company, 1995), 5.

[71] Cecil L. Cavender (AFC 2001/001/1226), Folder 5, Interview Cecil L. Cavender by Kasey Quackenbush, 8 November, 2001, 2, VHPC, AFC, LOC.

[72] Elmer Palmer Payne, *Korean War Veteran Survey*, 4, CFSOKW.

[73] Johnson Slivers, *Native American Korean War Veteran Survey*, 2, CFSOKW.

they wanted to see beyond the bars of juvenile hall or the jailhouse, they'd enlist. Sixteen year old Rookstool had been "just knocking around," getting "involved in some problems" when the judge offered him a choice of either joining the Army or going to reform school. It wasn't long before Rookstool wished he'd chosen differently, but he'd already been mustered in![74] Bailey, an African American, stood accused of dallying with a white man's woman and it seemed his options were suddenly narrowed to "getting strung up by a lynch mob, going to jail, or joining the Army."[75] A judge made the choice simple for Murphy, "Either join or go to jail."[76] For others, who had already been in trouble, joining up for the Korean War could provide the easiest way to a second chance. President Truman issued Executive Order 3000 in December 1952 offering a full pardon to "all persons convicted of violation of any law of the United States" who served in the Armed Forces for at least a year and separated from active service under honorable conditions during the Korean Conflict.[77]

For those maturing during and after World War II, family military tradition frequently pulled them toward the recruiter's door. Like the character Conway in the *Sands of Iwo Jima*, more than a few shipped in because they were expected to ship in: "Seems every time there's a war the men in my family join the Marines….I'm simply here for tradition."[78] For Louis Lyons, whose ancestors fought in the Revolution and Civil War and whose 5 brothers all served in

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[74] Melvin D. Rookstool in Carlson, *Remembered Prisoners of a Forgotten War*, 99.
[75] Curtis James Morrow, *What's a Commie Ever Done to Black People? A Korean War Memoir of Fighting in the U. S. Army's Last All Negro Unit* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland and Company, 1977), 26.
[76] James L. Murphy, *Korean War Veteran Survey*, 4, CFSOKW.
[77] Harry S. Truman, Executive Order 3000, 24 December 1952 (www.envirotext.eh.doc.gov/data). Some veterans have mentioned that Truman also let all the prisoners out of the Army stockades promising exoneration if they went to Korea and fought well. See George Zonge in Rudy Tomedi, *No Bugles, No Drums: An Oral History of the Korean War* (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1993), 98. David Halberstam relates that men headed for the stockade "were reprieved and marched, still in handcuffs, to Yokohama" so they could fight in Korea and clear their records. The handcuffs were removed on the planes and ships on the way to Korea. Halberstam, *The Fifties* (New York: Villard Books, 1993), 70-71.
[78] *Sands of Iwo Jima*, Republic Pictures Corp., 1994 (originally released 1949).

World War II, enlistment on his 17th birthday must have seemed very natural indeed.[79] James Boden, who lost an uncle in World War I, a cousin in World War II, and a friend at Chosin Reservoir in Korea, heard the siren song of the service just as clearly and enlisted at age 18. Joseph Brown's father and uncle, both wartime veterans, helped him decide to join the Navy in 1949.[80] Listening to the stories of his father, a World War I soldier, and Old Man Caldwell, a slave turned Union soldier during the Civil War who later helped bring Geronimo back from Mexico and fought at San Juan Hill, Charles Bussey "always wanted to be a soldier."[81] He was "prepared to live for my country, fight for my country, and if necessary, to die for it."[82] With a father who fought as a Marine in World War I even before he had citizenship and forefathers who fought for the "homeland of the Ancient Ones," Gilbert Towner asked "How could I be any different?"[83]

Many of the women who enlisted also had some sort of family military heritage. The Marines were a tradition for Mary Ann Bernard whose father and sister had both served in the Corps.[84] Jane Heins Escher's father had been in the Navy and she followed in his footsteps becoming a WAVE.[85] Valeria Hilgart, who joined the Marine Corps, had a brother and sister already in the Marines and her father had served in World War I.[86] In 1952, Maria Matta, whose brother had been killed in action in Korea, paid her own way from Puerto Rico to the United

[79] Linda Granfield, *I Remember Korea: Veterans Tell Their Stories of the Korean War, 1950-1953* (New York: Clarion Books, 2003), 65-7.
[80] Joseph Francis Brown, Memoir (Korean War Educator), 3.
[81] Charles M. Bussey, *Firefight at Yechon: Courage and Racism in the Korean War* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2002), 3.
[82] *Ibid*., 9.
[83] Gilbert Towner, *Korean War Veteran Survey*, 3, CFSOKW.
[84] Peter A. Soderbergh, *Women Marines in the Korean War Era* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 1994), 29.
[85] Jane Heins Escher, Interview by Eric Elliot, 20 May 1999, WVHP, OHC, UNCG, 9-10.
[86] Valeria F. Hilgart, Interview by Eric Elliot, 1 March 2000, WVHP, OHC, UNCG, 6-11.

States to enlist in the Marines.[87] Looking at the family histories of both men and women who served in the Korean era, volunteer and draftee alike, a majority had relatives or loved ones who served before them.[88] Military tradition might not have been the main reason for enlisting, but no doubt it accounted at least in part for the willingness of many to seek out enlistments of their own.

Foreign residents volunteered for service in hopes of expediting the naturalization process. After World War I and World War II, veterans with honorable discharges could be naturalized as U.S. citizens as outlined in the Immigration and Naturalization Act. Initially, the government made no such provisions for the aliens who donned U. S. uniforms during the Korean War. However, in June 1953, Congress passed Public Law 597 which entitled foreigners who had completed five or more years of military service to be deemed lawfully admitted to the country for permanent residency if otherwise qualified for citizenship.[89] This law expired of its own terms on December 31, 1955, but new legislation followed to permanently amend the Immigration and Naturalization Act to favor Korean veterans.[90]

In the late 1940s and early 1950s, a host of other things enticed youths to visit their local post offices and hitch up for tours of duty. The military, especially in wartime, offered

[87] Soderbergh, *Women Marines in the Korean War Era*, 30.
[88] While difficult to determine the percentage of Korean War participants who had relatives who served before them, military heritage is a constant refrain throughout memoirs, interviews, and surveys. Of almost 200 respondents to the *Korean War Veteran Survey* (CFSOKW) (which is NOT a scientific sampling and which does not distinguish between volunteers, recalls, draftees, or males and females) over 80% had a close relative who had been in service. This is not surprising given that the Second and even the First World War had been fought so recently and that so many had participated in those two wars.
[89] *United States Statutes at Large*, 64, part I, 316 (1952) and Senate, Report No. 2366, 85th Congress, 2d Session, *Senate Reports*, volume 5, (Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1958) (Seriel Set 12065), 3-4.
[90] *Ibid.*

unparalleled adventure for kids who craved a view of something more than their hometowns.[91] Enlisting in the Navy or Marines seemed a fine way to see the world while performing a service that the country would appreciate.[92] Those old enough and interested enough to fear communism thought the war tendered a unique opportunity to "fight it in someone else's country … [and] stop the Communists there."[93] Others, who had been in service before, re-upped in order to increase their rank,[94] be with old buddies,[95] or simply fill their time. Some, like Franklin Hodge, were already planning for retirement. He calculated that by rejoining the military and making a career of it he could retire at 39 with over $150 a month.[96] Captain Helen Brooks reentered the Navy as a nurse because "they desperately needed help in Korea."[97] Franklin Hodge joined up to avenge his brother's death and Joseph Timanaro signed up in order to seek revenge for the North Korean atrocities he had read about in the newspaper.[98] George Pakkala, an American citizen raised in Finland, enlisted in order to learn English.[99] Many women, if not

[91] Both men and women list adventure as their reason for enlisting. See Grace Alexander, Interview by Hermann J. Trojanowski, 20 January 1999, WVHP, OHC, UNCG, 4 and Mary E. Robinson, *Korean War Veteran Survey*, 3, CFSOKW.
[92] Richard G. Chappell and Gerald E. Chappell, *Corpsmen: Letters from Korea* (Kent, OH: Kent State University Press, 2000).
[93] Arthur Smith, Memoir (Korean War Educator), 2.
[94] Robert A. Maclean in Carlson, *Remembered Prisoners of a Forgotten War*, 123.
[95] Sergeant William Price, an African American World War II veteran, reenlisted to go to Korea because reading about his old outfit fighting in Korea, he missed his buddies there. Harold L. Keith, "Sarge Volunteers for Korea Duty: Wants to See His Pals," *Pittsburgh Courier*, 7 February 1953, 2. Another African American, Frederick McClellan, Sr., who had already served once in Korea, also reenlisted in order to return to his friends. Milinda D. Jensen, "Making the Contribution," United States of America Commemoration (http://www.korea50.army.mil/media/interviews/mcclellan.shtml).
[96] Franklin D. Hodge in Keith, "Sarge Volunteers for Korea Duty; Wants to See His Pals," 2.
[97] Captain Helen Louise Brooks in Frances Omori, *Quiet Heroes*, 82.
[98] Thomas T. Howard, "Sees Young Marine's Revenge Idea 'Wrong,'" Pittsburgh Courier, 30 August 1952, 11. Joseph Timanaro, Army Service (Korean War) Questionnaire, 1, 1st Cavalry Division, Surnames M-Z, Carlisle Barracks.
[99] George Pakkala, *Korean War Veteran Survey*, 5, CFSOKW.

enlisting in general for the uniform, at least chose their branch of service because the uniforms looked sharp.[100] As many reasons to enlist existed as there were volunteers.[101]

Interestingly, while women volunteered for many of the same reasons as their male cohorts, they more often stressed practical reasons over patriotic ones. Very limited in career choices, especially in occupations that paid well, many females desired a career in the Armed Forces. As one enlistee later put it, "I decided to join the military because I perceived my only options to be teacher, nurse, secretary, or the nunnery."[102] The passage of the Army-Navy Nurse Act in April 1947 and the Women's Armed Services Integration Act in June 1948 gave women a real incentive to enlist in military service.[103] While not abolishing restrictions on servicewomen, such as unmarried without minor dependents, these acts did create a permanent place for women in the military organization and did guarantee a pay scale similar if not equal to that of men doing the same kinds of work.[104] And, increasingly, military women could choose what work they did. Before the end of the Korean War, women in the Air Force had achieved entrance into many aviation specialties and women Marines had broken out of strictly administrative jobs and

[100] Many women comment on the allure of military uniforms in their memoirs and interviews. See Jane Heins Escher, Interview by Eric Elliot, 20 May 1999, 10, and Shirley Brantley, Interview by Eric Elliot, 2 May 2001, 7, WVHP, OHC, UNCG.
[101] One reason seldom mentioned for enlisting during the Korean War is fear of social ostracism. During the Civil War especially but also during World War II, men who failed to sign up for service found themselves labeled cowards. During the Civil War, women would not even consider being courted by a man who refused his manly duty. This kind of pressure seems absent from the Korean era. Gerald F. Linderman, *Embattled Courage: The Experience of Combat in the American Civil War* (New York: The Free Press, 1987), 87-93.
[102] Soderbergh, *Women Marines in the Korean War Era*, 30.
[103] For more on the Women's Armed Services Integration Act, see Jeanne Holm, *Women in the Military: An Unfinished Revolution* (Novato, CA: Presidio, 1982), 113-122.
[104] Judith Bellafaire, "Volunteering for Risk: Black Military Women Overseas During the Wars in Korea and Vietnam," Women in Military Service for America Memorial (http://www.womensmemorial.org/Education/BWOHistory.html). Also, Cynthia Kellogg, "Door is Open for Women in the Forces," *New York Times*, 25 November, 1955, 35.

could gain posting to overseas duty stations denied them after World War II.[105] Few other places in American society promised these same benefits. By 1952, the Navy concluded that women enlisted out of a desire to travel or have a career, gain education or self-improvement, receive job training, take advantage of educational benefits, or wean themselves from family dependency. The study failed to mention duty to country as a motivating factor at all. The Army decided that patriotism did matter, but came after the desire for overseas service, self-improvement and education, interesting work, and meeting new people and making new friends.[106] As Katherine Towle notes, one did "not join the services primarily for patriotic reasons."[107] By contrast, studies conducted on male inducements for enlistment during the Korean War era placed patriotism at the top of the list with draft motivation, choice of service, recruitment, and the Korean G. I. Bill weighing heavily on the decision.[108]

Not surprisingly, African Americans sometimes found choosing military service more difficult than their white comrades. They possessed the same love of country and personal and financial reasons for wanting to enlist, but they also resented the idea of sacrificing again for a country that could not be depended upon to show gratitude. Many remembered that black World War II veterans returned not only to a climate of discrimination and segregation, but to outright hostility. Isaac Woodward, still in his uniform, had been pulled off of a bus and beaten and

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[105] Marie Bennett Alsmeyer, *The Way of the WAVES: Women in the Navy* (Conway, AR: Hamba Books, 1981), 71 and Mary V. Stremlow, *A History of the Women Marines, 1946-1977* (Washington, D. C.: History and Museums Division Headquarters, U. S. Marine Corps., 1986), 45.

[106] Office of the Assistant Secretary of Defense, Memorandum for the Advertising Council, "Information About Women in the Armed Services," 8 December 1952, 5, Staff Files, Files of the Special Assistant Relating to the Office of Coordinator of Government Public Service Advertising (James M. Lambie, Jr.), Women in the Services—Correspondence 1952-1953, Box 9, folder "Women in the Service (Policy Material), DDE Library. Personal accounts support this view. See Anita Bean, *Korean War Veteran Survey*, 5 and Marie Alberti Rogers, *Korean War Veteran Survey*, 3, CFSOKW.

[107] Katherine Towle quoted in Soderbergh, *Women Marines in the Korean War Era*, 21.

[108] "Report on Conditions of Military Service for the President's Commission on Veteran's Pensions: Section 2," 17, (Bradley Commission): Records, 1954-58, A 69-22 and 79-6, Box 58, DDE Library.

blinded by a southern sheriff.[109] In the first six weeks of 1946, Birmingham, Alabama city policeman killed five African American veterans.[110] All over the country, lynching increased after the war.[111] From the vantage point of some blacks, Korea looked no better. Numerous articles in the Black Press decried the unfair treatment of black soldiers facing courts martial at much higher rates than whites and other pieces documented that white troops in Korea were flying the Confederate flag or that the white rapists of the wife of an African American soldier fighting in Korea had been let off easy in North Carolina.[112] No wonder that many began to question black participation in the war and ask "Why should Negroes die for second-class citizenship" or insist that "The United States should bring its troops home to fight for democracy here in this country!"[113] They did not want to be in the front lines in Korea but then return to the back of the bus back home.

Still, African Americans found plenty of reasons to volunteer for or reenter the Armed Forces in the late 1940s and early 1950s. In 1948, Harry Truman issued Executive Order 9981 which called for equal treatment and opportunity for all service members regardless of race, color, religion, or national origin.[114] The measure did not immediately desegregate the military (that would come later, in part due to manpower needs in the Korean trenches), but it did

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[109] John Egerton, *Speak Now Against the Day: The Generation Before the Civil Rights Movement in the South* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1994), 362-3. See also Bernard Nalty, *Strength for the Fight: A History of Black Americans in the Military* (New York: The Free Press, 1986), chapter 13A, which discusses at length the violent treatment of returning black World War II veterans.
[110] Egerton, *Speak Now Against the Day*, 361-2.
[111] 1952-1954 would be the first lynching-free years after the end of World War II. For a discussion of lynching and discrimination after the war, see the introduction to Gail Williams O'Brien, *The Color of the Law: Race, Violence, and Justice in the Post-World War II South* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1999).
[112] "Smearing Negro GI's in Korea," *Crisis* (December 1950), 715. Alex M. Rivera, Jr., "Dixie Justice," *Pittsburgh Courier*, 2 February 1952, 1 and 4.
[113] Roy C. Wright, editorial, *Pittsburgh Courier*, 27 January 1951, 11. John E. Rousseau, "'War With Korea Not Cure' Patterson Tells La. Negroes," *Pittsburgh Courier*, 3 March 1951, 2.
[114] Morris J. MacGregor, Jr., *Integration of the Armed Forces, 1940-1965* (Washington, D. C.: Center of Military History, U. S. Army, 1981), 312. Interestingly, gender was not listed as a factor to be ignored.

represent a sure step up from the Jim Crow South or even the civilian North. Charles Bussey happily left his job as policeman in California where he had been stationed in the black ghetto despite finishing first in his class at the Police Academy for a return to active duty in August 1948.[115] Similarly, James Allen, who had grown up sharecropping in Florida, decided after a trip to New York that he did not want to go back to Ocala and Jim Crow and so enlisted at age 18.[116] Beverly Scott saw the Army as an honorable profession. "There was no better institution in American life … than the army for the black man in the forties and fifties. … You had more leverage in the army. You always had somebody you could go and complain [to] about bad treatment. A black man couldn't do that in civilian life."[117] Hundreds of others felt the same way and signed on, some for the rest of their careers. African Americans also volunteered because they believed that their service would help to change the racial situation at home. As Gerald Early notes, "They saw there was a connection, that you'd be able to make a stronger argument when you came back: 'We fought for this country, and we deserve to be treated as full citizens.'"[118] During the war, African Americans began to call for "unprecedented consideration." They wanted to do their duty, but in return, they expected "all of the rights guaranteed … by the Constitution."[119] After 1950, when racial quotas limiting black enlistments were lifted, blacks, like other Americans, would knock on the recruiter's door.[120]

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[115] Bussey, *Firefight at Yechon*, 37-39.
[116] James W. Allen (AFC 2001/001/13391), Folder 3, Interview by Judith Kent, 20 December 2002, 1, VHPC, AFC, LOC.
[117] Beverly Scott in Tomedi, *No Bugles, No Drums*, 182.
[118] Quoted in Chuck Haga, "Legacy of the Korean War: Blending of Black and White," *Minneapolis Star Tribune*, 7 July 2003, 1B.
[119] "Unity, Duty and Rights," editorial, *Pittsburgh Courier*, 20 January 1951, 6.
[120] The quota system had some very strange effects on African American manpower before 1950. While some qualified applicants were turned away, other, poorly educated candidates remained in service. After World War II, blacks, who served primarily in support units and thus had less combat time and eligibility for discharge, tended to remain in uniform reducing the number of new African American recruits who could be mustered in. When the quotas were lifted, some of those, like W. H. Frost, who had been rejected earlier, were notified that they could now

Lastly, recruitment provided a final impetus for volunteers during the Korean War period. Male or female, black or white or something in between, the military had a plan to attract American youths to voluntary enlistments. For boys, the process often started as early as the high school years. Recruiters visited schools, held career days, and served as display models for the fancy new uniforms willing candidates might themselves wear one day. Those almost old enough to serve in World War II absorbed the bombardment of propaganda put out by the government and recruiting agencies during that war. They internalized the lesson that failure to serve brought scorn and shame.[121] After 1951, high schools throughout the country began to show a series of films produced by Coronet Films. With titles like "When You Enter Service," "Military Life and You," and "What It's All About, Your Plans, Service, and Citizenship," these sound motion pictures ostensibly attempted to "help guide young people facing the difficult task of civilian-to-military adjustment" brought about by the draft.[122] In reality, the films cast military service in such a positive light that groups like the National Council Against Conscription urged people to write their Congressmen and "tell them what you think of their [Coronet's] program for making America military-minded."[123]

In addition to preparing boys mentally for later enlistment or induction, the various services offered programs in the 1940s aimed at enrolling younger men. Both the Navy (V5) and Army (ASTRP) had programs in place for 17 year olds that allowed them to enlist but go to

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enter service if they wanted. W. H. Frost, Interview by Melinda Pash, 26 October, 2004, CFSOKW. See also Bowers, *Black Soldier, White Army*, 29. After the quota system ended, black enlistment rose steadily. In April 1950, African Americans accounted for only 10.2% of enlisted personnel, but by December of 1952 they comprised 13.2%. MacGregor, *Integration of the Armed Forces*, 430. By mid-1951, nearly 1 in 4 of the Army's new recruits were black. James E. Westheider, *Fighting on Two Fronts: African Americans and the Vietnam War* (New York: New York University Press, 1997), 22.

[121] For an example of this see Mickey Scott in Murdock, *The Forgotten War*, 113-14.

[122] "Coronet Films Announces, 'Are You Ready for Service?" (October 1951) National Archives, Record Group 330, Box 697. (Hereafter NA and RG)

[123] National Council Against Conscription, "This Concerns You," (no date), NA, RG 330, Box 697.

school until they turned 18.[124] College men, of course, could join ROTC, a program designed to produce military officers. For blacks this sometimes presented a problem as segregated schools did not always offer ROTC courses and not all ROTC programs accepted African Americans.[125] But other options were available. Charles Bussey recalls joining the Citizens' Military Training Camp (CMTC), another system for developing Army officers that was open to men of color. Before Korea, these recruitment efforts bore enough fruit that not everyone who wanted to enlist could get into the military. High school diploma in hand, Richard Bevier began looking for a branch of the service in which to enlist. He first tried the Air Force where he and a score of others were released after their physical exams revealed elevated pulse rates due more to the fact that no billets existed for new enlistees than to anything else. He then offered himself to the Marines which, also out of quotas to fill, cut him loose for dental reasons. Not quite 18, Bevier found himself a veteran of not one, but two branches of the Armed Forces.[126]

Once the Korean War broke out, recruiters had billets aplenty and began soliciting male enlistments in earnest. Though they could not offer bounties or other monetary compensation as recruiters in the Civil War had done, they promised an assortment of benefits—ranging from free lifetime health care for those who served 20 or more years to educational assistance under the

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[124] For more on Army and Navy programs, see Henry C. Herge et al., *Wartime College Training Programs of the Armed Services* (Washington, D.C.: American Council on Education, 1948). Martin A. Markley also mentions these. See Memoir (Korean War Educator at Educator), 1-2.

[125] Under the Morrill Acts, land grant universities were required to offer courses in military tactics, but as late as 1949 some black schools were not in compliance. One can only wonder what effect this might have had in steering educated African Americans away from military service or in forcing them to muster in as something other than officers when their time came. Office of the General Counsel, Memo to Commissioner of Education, "Land-Grant College Acts-Military Training in Land-Grant Colleges for Negroes—Your Memorandum," 9 June 1949, Central/Official Files, OF 142-A, "Negro Matters—Colored Question (1), Box 731, DDE Library. As late as 1957, blacks were still having difficulty getting into the regular ROTC, in part because of the inadequate education at segregated schools and in part because of the process where entrants were chosen by selection committees which favored white candidates. See Patrick Murphy Malin (Executive Director of the ACLU) to Thomas S. Gates, Jr. (Secretary of the Navy), 26 November 1957, NA, RG 319, Box 7.

[126] Richard C. Bevier, "Nearly Everyone Should Write a Book," account attached by the author to *Korean War Veteran Survey*, 4-7, CFSOKW.

1952 Korean G. I. Bill—whether or not they had the power or authority to make good on their word.[127] One potential recruit, Ray Deimler, found himself dogged by the local recruiting sergeant relentlessly until he agreed to join up.[128] The Armed Forces also spent loads of cash on advertising and other efforts, so much in fact that Secretary of Defense George Marshall and Assistant Secretary Rosenberg had to defend their budget.[129] Posters appeared in schools and post offices touting the merits of service and recruiters made the rounds as the Armed Forces tried to lure young men to service and perhaps to Korea.

Even in the slow years after 1945, the military targeted men for recruitment, but most branches of the service ignored women, having little use for females within their ranks. By June 1950, the WACs numbered only 7000, the WAVES 3200, and the Women Marines under 600.[130] Suddenly, the new mobilization seemed to demand a far larger female presence in all the services. The Navy wanted female hospital corpsmen to replace men sent overseas.[131] All branches needed women to tend to nursing or administrative tasks so that men in Korea could hope for rotation out, future scientists could continue college training instead of mustering in,

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[127] In recent years, some of these promises have been called into question. While the government provided free health care benefits for World War II and Korean era veterans for almost a half century, it cut them off in 1995, saying that recruiters had no legal authority to make such promises. A federal appeals court agreed reluctantly, admitting that "They were told … if you disrupt your family, if you work for low pay, if you endanger your life and limb, we will in turn guarantee lifetime health benefits." Curt Anderson, "Vets Not Eligible for Lifetime Care," *The Associated Press News Service*, 20 November 2002.

[128] Ray R. Deimler, Army Service (Korean War) Questionnaire, 1, 2nd Division, 23rd Regiment, Alphabetical Box 1, Carlisle Barracks.

[129] Many people wanted to know why Marshall kept spending money on recruitment when the draft was already in place to catch the very people for whom he was fishing. Marshall claimed that without such efforts draft calls would have to be raised and deferments ended. See Flynn, *The Draft*, 119.

[130] Soderbergh, *Women Marines in the Korean War Era*, 21.

[131] Jean Ebbert and Marie-Beth Hall, *Crossed Currents: Navy Women from World War I to Tail Hook* (Washington, D. C.: Brassey's, 1993), 132. Also "Army Readies Call for Nurses," *Daily Oklahoman*, 12 July 1950, 11. Even the Reserves competed for female enlistments. "Hey Girls! There's Still the Reserves," *Daily Oklahoman*, 2 July 1950, A13.

and families could remain undisrupted.[132] Enlisting females did not necessarily save men from being drafted, but it could free men up for other things.[133] To these ends, a flurry of recruitment activity ensued. The Navy announced its intention to enlist 10,000 women and after August 1950 raised its female enlistment quota so that by March recruiters were pressing to enroll 528 women per six week period.[134] Assistant Secretary of Defense Anna Rosenberg asked Congress to raise the 2% ceiling on women in the military and prompted Secretary of Defense George Marshall to form the Defense Advisory Committee on Women in the Services (DACOWITS) to assist with and advise on female recruitment.[135] Suddenly, posters and even television commercials advertising the services to women appeared as did a much increased number of female recruiters.[136] By December 1952, the Army, Navy, Air Force, and Marines combined had close to 250 women in 44 stations exclusively assigned to recruitment.[137] As early as July 1951 these efforts were paying off. The WACs could claim 12,000 women in uniform, the WAVES 6300, and the Women Marines 2065. Both encouraged and driven by these numbers, in October

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[132] Public Relations Coordinator, Defense Advisory Committee on Women in the Services, Office of the Assistant Secretary of Defense (M&P), "Policy Guide for Women in the Armed Services Information Program, 1953, U. S. Army, U. S. Navy, U. S. Air Force, U. S. Marine Corps," 9 February 1953, 3, Staff Files, Files of the Special Assistant Relating to the Office of Coordinator of Government Public Service Advertising (James M. Lambie, Jr.), Box 9, DDE Library. During the Korean War and after, new assignments would be opened to women in the Armed Forces, but as late as October 1952, there were still limitations on military career fields open to women. More than 45% in every branch served either as basic trainers or in personnel administration. Office of the Assistant Secretary of Defense, Memorandum for the Advertising Council, "Information About Women in the Armed Services," 8 December 1952, 2, Staff Files, Files of the Assistant Relating to the Office of Coordinator of Government Public Service Advertising (James M. Lambie, Jr.), Box 9, DDE Library.

[133] The Marine Corps believed female enlistment saved draftees, but the Air Force noted that every slot it filled with a female reduced the number of positions available to draft-vulnerable men. Office of the Assistant Secretary of Defense, Memorandum for the Advertising Council, "Information about Women in the Armed Services," 8 December 1952, 8-9, Staff Files, Files of the Special Assistant Relating to the Office of Coordinator of Government Public Service Advertising (James M. Lambie, Jr.), Box 9, DDE Library.

[134] Ebbert and Hall, *Crossed Currents*, 129.

[135] Holm, *Women in the Military*, 150-151.

[136]See Marie Rogers, *Korean War Veteran Survey*, 1, CFSOKW.

[137] Office of the Assistant Secretary of Defense, Memorandum for the Advertising Council, "Information about Women in the Armed Services," 8 December 1952, 7, Staff Files, Files of Special Assistant Relating to the Office of Coordinator of Government Public Service Advertising (James M. Lambie, Jr.), Box 9, DDE Library.

1951 Rosenberg announced the biggest campaign for female recruitment since World War II. President Truman personally launched the appeal to women, and rumors circulated that unmet quotas could result in a draft on women.[138] In October 1952, 48,700 servicewomen reported for duty, but that was still well short of the military's goal of 112,000.[139] In the early months of 1953, the Defense Advisory Committee on Women in the Services launched a new program to recruit quality female citizens, 18-35, in excellent physical condition, with a high school or college degree, and of high character. In addition to the usual tactics, potential female enlistees would be treated to slogans like "There's a job for you—and you're needed for it" and "I'm set for life" (with all the job training opportunities offered by the military).[140] Just as it did for men, the increased pressure of recruitment worked its magic on many young women, casting a spell that prompted them to muster into one of the services.

During the Korean Conflict, as in other wars, voluntary enlistment for whatever reason did not ensure that new enlistees would remain satisfied with their decision to join the Army, Marines, Navy, or Air Force. Soon after mustering in, a great many men and women like Raymond Delcambre could not help but ask themselves, "What in the world did I get myself

[138] Holm, *Women in the Military*, 151-152.
[139] Soderbergh, *Women Marines in the Korean War Era*, 49-50. Additionally, many of the women who had been recruited were not qualified. Scrambling to meet quotas, recruiters sometimes falsified test scores, educational records, and even references. Even some women with police records managed to enlist. Holm, *Women in the Military*, 152.
[140] The committee specifically did not want women with family or weight problems, emotional instability, or who had violated moral or legal codes. Public Relations Coordinator, Defense Advisory Committee of Women in the Services, Office of the Assistant Secretary of Defense (M&P), "Policy Guide for Women in the Armed Services Information Program, 1953, U. S. Army, U. S. Navy, U. S. Air Force, U. S. Marine Corps," 9 February 1953, 3-5, Staff Files, Files of the Special Assistant Relating to the Office of Coordinator of Government Public Service Advertising (James M. Lambie, Jr.), Box 9, DDE Library. Interestingly, there were great fears during the Korean War period and even earlier about enlisting lesbians. In the Marine Corps, "athletic" women were interrogated, some with lie detectors. Soderbergh, *Women Marines in the Korean War Era*, 61-62.

into!? And how could I get out?"[141] Travel, which had seemed so exotic before, became less glamorous when one was stuffed with 200 other people on an ancient, unheated train with hard wooden seats headed for a college gym or training barracks.[142] Instead of adventure, many youths found only homesickness and regret as their tours of duty began—regret that sometimes deepened as news and casualty reports filtered in from Korea confirming that this "police action" was in fact nothing less than an old-fashioned war. Also, families did not always support their loved ones' decision to muster in. When Joe DeMarco joined the Marines, his father responded, "In the old country they say you gotta go in the army, you go. But here no one says you gotta go in these Marines. Why you go? You don't like your home, your family, whatsamatter?"[143] Along with the fact that volunteers frequently had less education and scored lower on mental and physical tests, buyer's remorse helps to account for the low retention and increased delinquency rates of enlistees when compared to draftees. Despite claims by Secretary of Defense George Marshall that volunteers had higher morale and served longer than inductees, volunteers throughout the Korean War proved less likely to complete their terms of service than those forced into uniform by the draft.[144] While 95% of draftees received honorable discharges, only 62% of volunteers did. Still, the majority of enlistees eventually came to terms with their situation and more than a few grew to feel that "the Army was home" or that "there's something about the Army that I like."[145]

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[141] Raymond Delcambre, Army Service (Korean War) Questionnaire, 1, 2nd Division, 23rd Regiment, Alphabetical Box 1, Carlisle Barracks.
[142] Martin A. Markley, Memoir (Korean War Educator), 1.
[143] Joe DeMarco quoted in Henry Berry, *Hey Mac, Where Ya Been?,* 133.
[144] Roger W. Little, "Procurement of Manpower" in Roger W. Little, ed., *Selective Service and American Society* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1969), 27; Wool, "Military Manpower Procurement and Supply" in Little, ed., *Social Research and Military Management*, 70; and Flynn, *The Draft*, 119.
[145] Bussey, *Firefight at Yechon*, 9. William Price quoted in Harold L. Keith, "Sarge Volunteers for Korea Duty: Wants to See His Pals," *Pittsburgh Courier*, 7 February 1953, 2

Regardless of long-term satisfaction, motives for enlistment stayed constant throughout the Korean Conflict. The volume of enlistments, however, dropped with each year of the war. In fiscal year 1951, 630,000 Americans entered the Armed Forces by enlisting, but by fiscal year 1953 only 397,000 entrants could claim voluntary accession.[146] No doubt personal reasons weighed heavily on the decision of whether or not to enlist, but so did the home front climate. In the early months of 1950, potential volunteers had no reason to suspect that the Korean Conflict would command any less of the public's attention and patriotic support than World War II. Aside from a few naysayers who wrote President Truman to complain that American intervention in Korea differed little from the "naked aggression" of Hitler's regime, a handful of folk singers like Woody Guthrie, Communists, and Jehovah's Witnesses, most Americans supported military efforts in Korea.[147] An August 1950 Gallup Poll showed 65% of Americans firmly behind the war effort.[148] Even the Socialist Party's National Action Committee voted unanimously to back the action.[149]

As the war dragged on, however, public interest and support waned. By the first week of January 1951, after Chinese intervention, only 38% of Americans still thought that Korea was not a mistake, if they thought of the war at all.[150] The buying frenzy that had characterized 1950,

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[146] Flynn, *The Draft*, 119. This is consistent with Vietnam when the number of voluntary enlistments declined as the war continued. Appy, *Working-Class War*, 28.

[147] Samuel H. Anderman to Mr. Truman, 29 June 1950, Box "(43) Korean War: North Korea's Invasion of South Korea, 1 of 2," folder 11, Center for the Study of the Korean War, Independence, Missouri. In 1950, Woody Guthrie put out "I've Got to Know," an anti-war song with stanzas like "Why do these war ships ride on my waters? Why do these bombs fall down from the skies? Why do you burn my towns and cities? I've got to know, friend, I've got to know." Schmidt, "Americans Change Their Tune," 55. See also Brenda Gayle Plummer, *Rising Wind: Black Americans and U. S. Foreign Affairs, 1935-1960* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996), 207.

[148] George Gallup, Jr., *The Gallup Poll: Public Opinion 2000* (Wilmington, DE: Scholarly Resources, Inc., 2000) 194.

[149] Lawrence S. Wittner, *Rebels Against War: The American Peace Movement, 1933-1983* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1984), 202.

[150] Gallup, *The Gallup Poll: Public Opinion 2000*, 194.

when people still worried that war would directly affect their ability to purchase sugar, shortening, or televisions, had drawn to a close, leaving Americans free to concentrate on things other than the war effort.[151] Headlines concerning strikes, domestic events, and even UFOs rather than war news monopolized the front pages of most newspapers. Servicemen and women stationed stateside appeared invisible as Korea's police action status allowed them to wear civilian duds instead of uniforms when off post and not on duty.[152] In October 1951 *U. S. News and World Report* labeled Korea the "forgotten war," not surprising given that in a poll that same month 56% of Americans agreed that Korea was an "utterly useless war."[153]

But, Korea was not totally forgotten. Few people bothered to protest the Korean War vocally, but anti-war demonstrations did take place, if only on a small scale. On June 25, 1951, the first anniversary of the Korean War, a half dozen or so Catholic Workers joined David Dellinger of the War Resisters League and Bayard Rustin of the Fellowship of Reconciliation in Times Square to call for peace. Despite some public confusion, in this case an angry spectator mistook the pacifist Catholic Workers for communist Daily Workers and punched Dellinger in the face, activists planned and executed protests throughout the war.[154] Also, folk artists churned out anti-war songs for the duration of the conflict. In "I Just Wanna Stay Home," Irwin Silber opined that he didn't "wanna die for the stock exchange."[155] Boots Casetta's "Little Bronze Medal" clearly tried to stir pacifism by lyrically dramatizing a mother's plea to save her son after

[151] John E. Wiltze, "The Korean War and American Society," *Wilson Quarterly* 2 (summer 1978), 131.
[152] LaVergne Novak in Soderbergh, *Women Marines in the Korean War Era*, 69. Regulations required that men and women wear uniforms on post, but many kept civilian clothes to change into at "locker clubs" in town. Email Harry Matthews to Melinda Pash, 29 May 2008, in author's possession.
[153] "Korea: The Forgotten War," *U. S. News and World Report* 31 (5 October 1951), 21. Gallup, *The Gallup Poll: Public Opinion* 2000, 1019.
[154] Maurice Isserman, *The Other American: The Life of Michael Harrington* (New York: Public Affairs, 2000), 95-96.
[155] Schmidt, "Americans Change Their Tune," 52.

having lost a husband and son to war already. It ended with: "I've got one more son and he's turning sixteen, please don't take him off for your war; I swear he's too young for shooting a gun, and I don't want no medals no more … Now all of you mothers, just tell all the others that we don't want no medals no more."[156] All this negativism and indifference took its toll on the American public and by extension on enlistments. Support for the war bobbled up and down from 35% to 37% through 1952 and 1953, finally settling at about 50% in January 1953, but potential recruits seldom could have imagined that the same patriotic impulse existed for this war that had materialized during World War II.[157]

Throughout the Korean War era, men and women did not necessarily flock to enlist as had their cousins and brothers of the Second World War. And, in general, however much they liked to believe that they were answering the same glorious call, they marched to the recruiters' offices without the same single-minded purpose as their recent forebears. For the men and women who volunteered for Korean service, there was no Pearl Harbor, no Nazi Regime, and no sacrifice universal enough to be endured by all Americans whether at home or abroad. Instead, there were a variety of personal needs, a pressing draft, an often indifferent populace, and the country's call to colors. Raised to be people of grit and sacrifice, the boys and girls of the Great Depression and World War II volunteered to muster in and do their duty, perhaps not happily, but with determination and in greater numbers than their sons and daughters when the next war started.[158]

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[156] *Ibid*., 54.
[157] Interestingly, while total enlistments fell each year of the war, enlistments in some branches, such as the Navy, actually increased. U. S. Bureau of Naval Personnel, Memo on Discrimination of the Negro, 24 January 1959, Tab 1, NA, RG 319, Box 7.
[158] In fiscal year 1965, the first full year of the Vietnam War, only 351,000 Americans enlisted. Flynn, *The Draft*, 119.

The Reservists and National Guardsmen

Altogether, June 1950 turned out to be a bad month for National Guardsmen and Reservists. Budget crunches early in the month had led to a series of layoffs among active personnel, who then had to find other means of employment and income. While perhaps disappointed, few protested the decision. Most reservists, while joining up for the same reasons as regular military enlistees, expected to be used only in case of emergency and took their move to inactive status in stride. But the month was not over yet. Sitting in front of his girlfriend's house on his way to another town and a new apprenticeship with Monterey Optical Company, former active Guardsmen Frank Rowan heard news of North Korea's invasion of South Korea on the radio. "Oh shit," he said. "In a month I will be in the Army."[159] It took a little while for the news to really sink in, but all over the country Guardsmen and Reservists had the same startled reaction. The impossible had happened—peace had been shattered and Americans were about to march again to war.

Within days of entering the fighting, Congress granted President Truman the authority to call units or individuals of the National Guard and Reserves to active duty for up to 21 months.[160] The military first sought volunteers from among the reserve components, but when few appeared, involuntary reserve call-ups proceeded and in August 1950, 600 reserve units

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[159] Rowan, "History of the 161st Ordnance Depot Company and the 502nd Ordnance Depot Platoon 1948/1952," 4.

[160] The number of months one was required to serve depended upon when one was called up. Initially, newly activated Guardsmen and Reservists faced a term of 21 months, but the length of service was extended to 24 months in June 1951. See William Berebitsky, *A Very Long Weekend: The Army National Guard in Korea, 1950-1953* (Shippensburg, PA: White Mane Publishing Company, 1996), 5 and "Folder X: Duration of Service," 9-11, (Bradley Commission): Records 1954-58, A 69-22 and 79-6, Box 61, DDE Library. The Universal Military Training and Service Act of June 1951did try to lessen the burden of service for World War II veterans. It specified that recalled reservists who were retreads from World War II had to be released between their 12th and 17th month of service. See John Michael Kendall, "An Inflexible Response: United States Army Manpower Mobilization Policies, 1945-1957" (Ph.D. diss., Duke University, 1982), 208.

shifted to active duty.[161] For the first time in history, women reservists, especially those in critical ratings such as hospital corpsmen and supply clerks, were involuntarily mobilized along with the men.[162] National Guard units also felt the pull and from August 1950 to February 1952, some 19 increments of them would be taken, totaling 138,597 guardsmen in eight Infantry Divisions, three Regimental Combat Teams (RCTs), and 266 separate battalions, companies, and detachments.[163] Under normal circumstances, all of the reserve troops would have trained raw recruits and inductees, but low manpower levels in Korea demanded replacements double quick time and many of the recalled Guardsmen and Reservists shipped out for the war zone as either soldiers or nurses soon after activation.[164] As a result, despite the opposition which developed to calling up National Guard and Reserve units, even more had to be called to active duty! When the Korean War ended, close to 700,000 Reservists and Guardsmen could claim service through recall or activation.[165]

A handful of reserve personnel simply accepted their orders or even welcomed the chance to go on active duty when called. Hank Buelow, who had enlisted in the National Guard at age 15, rejoiced when his unit got activated during Christmastime 1950. Though a full time

[161] Flynn, *The Draft*, 112-114. See also Wiltze, "The Korean War and American Society," 131.
[162] As the war continued, some branches of the service revised their policies on what factors disqualified a woman for service. The Navy, for instance, by the end of the war no longer allowed women to leave simply because they were married or even because their husbands were wounded or discharged. Ebbert and Hall, *Crossed Currents*, 129. See also Soderbergh, *Women Marines in the Korean War Era*, 45 and 112 and Colonel Mary V. Stremlow, *A History of the Women Marines, 1946-1977* (Washington, D. C.: History and Museums Division, U. S. Marine Corps, 1986), 44.
[163] In fact, this total represented 37% of the National Guard forces available! Berebitsky, *A Very Long Weekend*, 4-5.
[164] Many Guardsmen and Reservists shipped out to Korea as individual replacements instead of as units as many units were in poor condition and unprepared to fight effectively. Flynn, *The Draft*, 114.
[165] Most sources place the figure of reservists who served in the Korean War era at approximately 700,000. See Lawrence M. Baskir and William A. Strauss, *Chance and Circumstance: The Draft, the War, and the Vietnam Generation* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1978), 50 and Flynn, *The Draft*, 119. Others place the figure at closer to a million reserve type personnel. See McGlasson, "Manpower for the Korean War," 25.

student at Colorado A & M, Hank wanted to muster into active service.[166] For the inactive reserves, the perks of being involuntarily recalled often softened the blow of activation. Unlike reservists who volunteered for active duty, those forced back into uniform against their wishes retained their termination promotion rank, giving them an advantage over everyone else and prompting complaints by jealous regulars and draftees.[167] For Martin Markley and others it seemed a sign that they should not only willingly fall in for service or Korea, but that they should make a career out of the Army or Marines where no better avenue to advancement existed than combat.[168]

Many Guardsmen and Reservists, though, complained bitterly about their recall to colors and refused to come quietly. One unhappy California Guardsman waiting for his ship to the Far East told a newsman, "I thought I was signing up to fight Oregon! I didn't know Governor Knight was mad at Mao Tse Tung!"[169] Others pointed out the inequity of calling older reservists who had jobs and families while younger men without children could apply for an assortment of deferments and exemptions.[170] And, many of those being tapped for duty had already given a chunk of their lives to Uncle Sam.[171] Wallace Donaldson, drafted during World War II, had just finished school and finally reached the position where he could make money when he received

[166] Evidently Buelow's enchantment with military service did not outlast his tenure in Korea. Offered a battlefield commission, he refused a second tour of duty. Hank Buelow in Linda Granfield, *I Remember Korea*, 18-19.
[167] Kendall, "An Inflexible Response," 221, note 1.
[168] Martin A. Markley, Memoir (Korean War Educator), 2. Also, Arthur L. Kelly, Interview by Birdwhistell, 16 April 1985, 4 (Kentuckiana Digital Library at http://kdl.kyvl.org).
[169] Quoted in McGlasson, "Manpower for the Korean War," 25.
[170] The Selective Service System deferred farmers, certain students, and married men (even those without children), as well as men employed in critical defense occupations. Reservists in those same categories were not exempted from recall. Kendall, "An Inflexible Response," 206. Also, Flynn, *The Draft*, 123 and Wiltz, "The Korean War and American Society," 132. Many of the guardsmen and reservists who ended up serving in the Korean War would probably not have been drafted under the Selective Service regulations in place. Instead, they would have been exempted for dependency, prior service, or other reasons.
[171] About 600,000 of the reserve type personnel called to duty during the Korean Conflict were World War II veterans. McGlasson, "Manpower for the Korean War," 25.

his Korean War recall notice.[172] Thomas McLain fulfilled his obligation to the Army and became a civilian again on June 25, 1950, just three months before being pulled back into olive drab and put on duty at Camp Breckinridge, Kentucky.[173] Scott Defebaugh, a World War II hospital corpsman who had worked several jobs and used the G. I. Bill to train to be a teacher, got activated the very day he was supposed to begin teaching 9th grade in Woodward, Oklahoma.[174] Disgusted with their plights, retreads and other individuals called up for the Korean emergency wrote their senators and congressmen, and sometimes even President Truman.[175] The backlash prompted Major General Lewis B. Hershey, the Selective Service Director, to declare "Everyone wants out; no one wants in."[176] For its part, the Army pointed out that those being summoned to service had drawn the pay as guardsmen or reservists.[177] Washington officials failed to note, however, that many of those being called to duty served only in the inactive reserves and thus had received no monetary compensation at all. Fearing a broader conflict with Russia and perhaps even total war, the military had decided to save its better-trained, paid active reservists for later.[178] Ultimately the military could argue only that Reservists and Guardsmen had entered their contracts voluntarily and concede that in calling up the reserves "military necessity overrode considerations of equity and justice."[179]

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[172] Wallace R. Donaldson (AFC 2001/001/8350), Folder 2, Interview by Anne Woodward and Carmella Santos, 12 February 2003, 2-3, VHPC, AFC, LOC.
[173] Thomas W. McLain (AFC 2001/001/256), Folder 1, "Remembering Korea, 28 June 1950 to 3 December 1951," 1, VHPC, AFC, LOC.
[174] Scott L. Defebaugh in Linda Granfield, *I Remember Korea*, 50-53.
[175] One African American World War II veteran recalled to Korean service wrote President Truman to point out that while he was prepared to do his duty again he regretted continuing segregation both within the Armed Forces and at home. Stewart A. Street to President Truman, 2 January 1951, online at www.trumanlibrary.org/whistlestop/study.
[176] Quoted in Joseph C. Goulden, *Korea: The Untold Story of the War* (New York: Times Books, 1982), 135.
[177] *Ibid*., 136.
[178] "New Deal for Reserves," *Newsweek* 36:18 (30 October 1950), 28.
[179] The Army somewhat maliciously added that men joined the Guard in order to ensure themselves commissions. *Ibid*. Also see McGlasson, "Manpower for the Korean War," 25.

For scores of Guardsmen and Reservists, recall to service caused more than a minor inconvenience. The initial uncertainty of just who might be called up caused employers to refuse jobs to reserve type personnel, and to deny promotions to or even fire those already employed. Banks and insurance companies turned down loan and policy applications, and the offended party had no legal recourse.[180] For veterans, the July 1951 expiration date of the World War II Servicemen's Readjustment Act of 1944 could not be put on hold and more than a few worried that another stint in service would deny them their benefits.[181] Once orders came, men and women had to report regardless of their personal or financial situations and before any effort toward exemption would be entertained by the military. Regrettably, records of inactive reservists had not been updated in years, in some cases since World War II, and men with ten children and nurses with babies and toddlers of their own became at least temporarily caught in the country's manpower net.[182]

Countless others had their whole lives disrupted by the new call to arms. John Saddic, a World War II purple heart veteran and Marine Corps Reservist, had a wife and family to support but found himself forced to muster into the Marine Corps at too low a rank to be granted a family allowance. Welfare told him to sell his furniture, the Red Cross advised him to go on welfare, and only after he went to the newspaper with his story did he garner any assistance at all. When he returned home from Korea with frozen feet, the Red Cross began hounding him to repay the

[180] Kendall, "An Inflexible Response," 207; "Reservists: Forgotten Men," *U. S. News and World Report* (20 October 1950), 17; and "New Deal for Reserves," *Newsweek* 36:18 (30 October 1950), 27. The Seattle business community rallied to find jobs for men "awaiting [their] country's call to duty," but elsewhere such generosity proved rare. "Jobs Pledged to Reservists," *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, 2 September 1950, 3.
[181] See Robert D. Andre to Senator Robert A. Taft, 21 May 1951, Papers of Robert A. Taft, Sr., Box 1077, Library of Congress. (Hereafter Taft Papers, LOC)
[182] "New Deal for Reserves," 27. Also Omori, *Quiet Heroes*, 12.

"loan" he had received![183] Harry VanZandt, another World War II veteran, got his notice to report while lying in bed with pneumonia. He did manage to get a deferment due to illness, but in the end it did not save him from leaving his wife and son and heading out for another overseas tour of war.[184] A Texas Reserve sergeant who had worked to set up a prosperous plumbing business in the years after the Second World War worried that his absence would result in the repossession of all his tools by the bank, leaving him without much to return to. Professional men fretted over lost promotions and opportunities, doctors wondered if after service they would be too old to pick back up again and build a private practice, and recent graduates felt uneasy about waiting years to apply their education to real-life work.[185] Fathers and husbands and World War II veterans, both male and female, felt punished for their loyalty to country and cheated that so many Americans were escaping military service altogether while they were plucked from their civilian lives, many for the second time. Defense Secretary George Marshall agreed, but at least for a while Reservists and Guardsmen continued to muster in for the Korean War.[186]

Mustering in for a second time proved easy enough for most Guardsmen and Reservists, too easy in fact for some, but the actual process varied from place to place and unit to unit. For

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[183] John Saddic in Berry, *Hey Mac, Where Ya Been?*, 161-2.
[184] Harry VanZandt, Interview by Tara Liston and Tara Kraenzlin, 11 May 1996, New Brunswick History Department: Oral History Archives of World War II (Rutgers), http://fas-history.rutgers.edu/oralhistory/Interviews/Van_Zandt_harry.html.
[185] "Reservists: Forgotten Men," 15-17.
[186] After the passage of the UMT&SA, involuntarily recalled Reservists were to be gradually released, starting with World War II veterans, and by January 1952, most of the men involuntarily recalled to service had been released. Still, some 88% of the officers in the Far East continued to be Reservists or Guardsmen. Kendall, "An Inflexible Response," 206-210 and "New Deal for Reserves," 28. As the war went on, and as volunteers and draftees were trained, some reserves were released from the obligation of going to Korea, a fact that did not sit well with those already in the war zone. Clarence Davis wrote his brother that new reserves were taken off the ship at Kobe to be returned to the United States, but "I had to come over here, and I think they should come on over and let the ones over here go on home first. That bit of news really pisses me off." See Jack to Bud, 21 May 1951, Clarence Jackson Davis (AFC2001/001/1644), Folder 1, VHPC, AFC, LOC.

all, it began with notification. Most Guardsmen and Reservists received an official letter with orders to report, but MPs visited a lucky few to break the news and some Guardsmen got word in person while at summer camp. Not surprisingly, Guardsmen, who held weekly meetings, trained on weekends, and attended summer camps, were caught less off guard than inactive Reservists who never participated in drills or other exercises and many of whom did not even belong to a particular unit. After receiving notice, it was time to report and without much delay. Harold Mulhausen, a Marine Reservist, remembers that he was allowed about a week to quit his job and make arrangements for his family before checking in at the Reserve Center for transportation to Camp Pendleton, California.[187] George Tsegeletos got activated into the Marine Corps while at his first summer camp and his unit was ordered home only briefly to "get your things in order" before returning to Camp Pendleton.[188] Conrad Grimshaw, a National Guardsmen, had seven days to prepare to leave his home for active duty.[189] Aside from a few who were too ill to report immediately or who were still in high school, Reservists and Guardsmen found it difficult to garner any extra time before reporting.[190] Men and women scurried around to un-rent apartments, resign from jobs, withdraw from college, store possessions, cut hay, move up wedding dates, and kiss their loved ones goodbye. Some units required members to fit physical exams or vaccinations into their already hectic schedules or to participate in recruitment drives

[187] Mulhausen and Alexander, *Korea: Memories of a U. S. Marine*, 3.
[188] George H. Tsegeletos, *As I Recall: A Marine's Personal Story* (Bloomington, IN: 1st Books Library, 2003), 2.
[189] Conrad Grimshaw (Korean War Educator), Memoir, 3.
[190] Thomas C. Shay (AFC 2001/001/5807), Folder 3, Interview by Kent Fox, 24 February 2003, 1, VHPC, AFC, LOC. Early in the war even reservists still in high school, who had joined with the belief that they could request discharge at any time, found themselves activated and deployed quickly despite the pleas of parents and guardians for deferment. See Randy K. Mills, "Unexpected Journey: Evansville's Marine Corps Reserve and the Korean War," *Traces of Indiana and Midwestern History* 12:3 (summer 2000), 6 and 11. Celebrities like Ted Williams, a 34 year old World War II veteran and player for the Boston Red Sox, also had to serve when recalled. See Berry, *Hey Mac, Where Ya Been?*, 259.

when units were understrength.[191] Then, they gathered at the same armories as their World War II forebears not so many years before, and the same townspeople collected to wish them well and to memorize the faces that might never return.[192] Boarding buses or trains or cramming into cars, recalled servicemen and servicewomen headed out toward active duty and camps and bases all around the country.

Once settled at Fort Lewis or Camp Pendleton or wherever else they had ended up, Guardsmen and Reservists had much to do in preparation for regular military service. Occasionally medical exams were administered, but more frequently candidates were found "physically fit for duty" without even being seen by a doctor.[193] Those not yet immunized received their vaccinations and then it was on to the business of making ready for war. From this point on, time moved rapidly for Reservists. At camp, some reserve units classified their members as older veterans who were "combat ready," men who needed a refresher in "combat training," and new recruits who needed boot camp, sending them to either the war zone or training accordingly.[194] However, early in the war, when manpower shortages in Korea demanded more troops immediately, many Reservists regardless of experience spent only days or weeks drilling before shipping overseas. Sometimes, men who recently had joined the reserves boarded the troop ship without ever having been taught to handle a weapon![195] One

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[191] Frank Rowan mentions that his National Guard unit had only 35 of its authorized 160 men just before being federalized, but a recruitment drive brought the numbers up to 90 men by the time the 161st was actually federalized. Frank Rowan, "History of the 161st Ordnance Depot Company and the 502nd Ordnance Depot Platoon 1948/1952," 5. For more on how vacancies were filled, see William M. Donnelly, *Under Army Orders: The Army National Guard During the Korean War* (College Station, TX: Texas A & M University Press, 2001), 13.

[192] Many Korean veterans note the sense of déjà vu they had in leaving. They remembered the World War II departures and felt that in a sense history was repeating itself. See Cole, *Korea Remembered*, 29.

[193] Paul L. Cooper, *Weekend Warriors* (Manhattan, KS: Sunflower University Press, 1996), 14. This is not surprising since having your name on a National Guard or Reserve unit roster presupposed physical fitness for duty. Also, email A. Pat Burris to Melinda Pash, 20 July 2005, in author's possession.

[194] Mulhausen and Alexander, *Korea: Memories of a U. S. Marine*, 4.

[195] Email A. Pat Burris to Melinda Pash, 20 July 2005, in author's possession.

Reservist complained that after fighting at Inchon, Seoul, Chosin, and the Guerilla Sweep, the Marines wanted to send him back to the States for boot camp.[196] Nurses especially found themselves quickly mustered in and deployed, so fast in fact that they had to borrow uniforms. In more than a few cases, the Navy and Marines discovered married women or mothers within their ranks, but by then, the women were already at their assignments and had to be formally discharged as soon as replacements were found.[197] National Guardsmen faced much the same general process as Reservists, but sometimes took longer to leave the camps. In the fifties, the Guard did not require recruits to take basic training and as a result many Guardsmen started active duty in boot camp. Volunteers for Korea, though, like the Reservists, steered toward the war zone with great speed and with only a couple of weeks home before their departures.

As they mustered in, many Guardsmen and Reservists felt that they followed in the footsteps of the reserve personnel called to service in World War II. In 1950 as in 1941 Guard and Reserve units mirrored the communities they were leaving behind. The faces of brothers and cousins filled the ranks as they set out for destination points unknown. But the Korean War would prove a very different experience. Those who left together did not always remain together as many units were either broken apart or reconfigured before they ever reached battle. Recruitment drives plumped up units with new people, the classification of individuals in different categories of combat readiness splintered units, and often individual replacements were plucked from the ranks and sent over separately.[198] While some units did reach Korea intact, many others contained totally different personnel by the time they boarded the ship.[199]

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[196] Berry, *Hey Mac, Where Ya Been?*, 205.
[197] Omori, *Quiet Heroes*, 12.
[198] Flynn, *The Draft*, 114.
[199] In his book, Kindsvatter talks about the cobbled up nature of the 7th Marine Regiment that fought at Inchon. See Peter S. Kindsvatter, *American Soldiers: Ground Combat in the World Wars, Korea, and Vietnam* (U. S.:

Reservists and Guardsmen summoned for the Korean Conflict might have expected to be among friends and relatives when it came their turn to soldier, but a great many found themselves facing the task alone. With hardship and loneliness caused by their departures, many couldn't help but feel "when we slipped our lines at the dock, and later as we passed under the Golden Gate Bridge, that perhaps this was not quite working out as we had planned."[200]

The Draftees and the Deferred

"Greetings from the President of the United States"—boys around the country cringed when they read the words.[201] Harry Truman was not inviting them to a cotillion or dinner, not even for tea and pastries. In fact, he was not really greeting them at all. The words simply prefaced the letter informing millions of young men that their time to report for the Korean War draft had come. Within sixty days of hostilities in Korea, monthly draft calls spiraled upward from the post-World War II doldrums, reaching 50,000 by September 1950 and 80,000 by January 1951.[202] Calls averaged about half a million a year throughout the war but might have risen even higher had MacArthur not emptied training units in order to provide combat units in Korea with replacements, making it impossible to prepare a larger number of draftees for

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University Press of Kansas, 2003), 14. See also Harry VanZandt, Interview by Tara Liston and Tara Kraenzlin, 11 May 1996, 34.

[200] Bevier, "Nearly Everyone Should Write a Book," 11.

[201] During the Korean War era, as in modern times, women were not subject to the draft. Interestingly, though, many Americans favored the drafting of single young women to do some military jobs. In March 1951, 48% of those polled felt that women should be drafted. 46% of men and 51% of women favored such a measure. Gallup, *The Gallup Poll: Public Opinion 2000*, 972.

[202] *Annual Report of the Director of Selective Service for the Fiscal Year 1953 to the Congress of the United States pursuant to the Universal Military Training and Service Act as Amended* (Washington, D. C.: United States Government Printing Office, 3 January 1954), 89.

service.[203] Local boards, made up of unpaid civilians, scrambled to sift through millions of Selective Service registrants and classify them as fit for selection, deferment, or exemption.[204] Amazingly, these boards managed to not only meet the calls, but produce more names than requested every single month of the war.[205] As a result, draftees accounted for over 30% or about a million and a half of those who mustered in for the conflict.[206]

Upon receiving their draft notifications, potential inductees had only ten days to report to the local board for classification. Those who failed to appear for any reason risked having their names turned over to the United States Attorney General for prosecution for delinquency.[207] One fretful woman appealed to Senator Robert Taft on behalf of her husband, a Merchant Marine aboard a transport ship delivering supplies to the Far East, because the local board had turned him in to the federal authorities for not reporting or appealing his I-A (available for service) status in person.[208] Others failed to report for less innocent reasons. Some had been careless about updating address information and had no idea they had even been called, but others deliberately side-stepped the draft board.[209] That World War II sense of participating in something important had vanished and registrants were sometimes driven to become no-shows

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[203] Flynn, *The Draft*, 114.
[204] *Annual Report of the Director of Selective Service for the Fiscal Year 1954 to the Congress of the United States pursuant to the Universal Military Training and Service Act as Amended* (Washington, D. C.: United States Government Printing Office, 3 January 1955), 3.
[205] *Ibid*. By the end of 1951, local boards had delivered 5.5% more men than requested on average. Flynn, *The Draft*, 116.
[206] Flynn, *The Draft*, 119. Also, Wool, "Military Manpower and Procurement and Supply," in Little, ed., *Social Research and Military Management*, 40.
[207] Flynn, *The Draft*, 116.
[208] Mrs. D. Caulkins to Senator Robert A. Taft, December 1951, Taft Papers, Box 1061, LOC.
[209] The first man rounded up for draft evasion was Clarence White, Jr. who had recently moved from the address to which his draft summons was mailed. Interestingly, White had been classified 4-F in World War II, but the Korean War draft board claimed him as I-A. "First Man Seized as Draft Evader," *New York Times*, 21 September 1950, 8.

by their lack of enthusiasm for military life.[210] As hostilities dragged on, a kind of malaise about the war also played a role. Again and again local boards found themselves having to explain to draftees that "they have an obligation to their country that they must perform."[211] But not all registrants agreed that they owed such service. Minorities pointed out the irony of the country expecting them to fight abroad for rights and freedoms they were themselves denied at home.[212] One Native American woman wrote President Truman in disgust, saying the Navajos "have not been helped and you ask for our boys."[213] Many African Americans felt the same way. Not surprisingly, some men, like Roosevelt Ward, Jr., executive secretary of the Labor Youth League, and James Lawson, a future Nashville Civil Rights Movement leader, chose prison over Korea.[214]

Still, delinquencies ran low throughout the Korean War. Many might have felt like Rudy Stephens that they "wanted to run away, assume a strange name, and get lost in this big country of ours."[215] They might even, as Mickey Scott asserts, have known the way to Mexico or Canada.[216] Probably more than a few of them thought the draft board unfair in forcing them into service while others went free.[217] But on the whole, the men summoned to report for the draft

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[210] Newspapers and magazines frequently noted the lack of enthusiasm among draftable boys for both the military and the war. See Ira Peck, "A Night at Local Draft Board No. 14," *New York Times Magazine*, 29 October 1950, 15 and 47-49. Also, *Time* magazine noted in late 1951 that "hardly anyone wants to go into the Army; there is little enthusiasm for the military life, no enthusiasm for war." "The Silent Generation," from "The Younger Generation," *Time* 58 (5 November 1951), 45-52.

[211] Peck, "A Night at Local Draft Board No. 14," 15 and 47-49.

[212] Blacks accounted for about 20% of those arrested for violating the Selective Service Act of 1948, the draft law under which the Korean War began. Plummer, *Rising Wind*, 207.

[213] Telegram from Clara W. Spies to Harry S. Truman, 4 February 1951, Box 35 "Native Americans," folder 12, CFSOKW.

[214] "Draft Dodger's Appeal Studied," *Pittsburgh Courier*, 22 March 1952, 5. Plummer, *Rising Wind*, 207.

[215] Stephens, *Old Ugly Hill*, 25.

[216] Mickey Scott in Murdock, *Forgotten War*, 113.

[217] Of the major 20th century wars, Korea posted one of the lowest satisfaction rates with regard to the fairness of local boards. A January 1951 Gallup poll showed that only 60% of those polled believed the draft was being handled fairly in their communities. Among women the rate fell to 54%. Major criticisms included boards granting too many deferments or exemptions, drafting men at too young of an age, ignoring the problems of inductees, and

came when called. In 1950, the Justice Department prosecuted only 4490 men for draft evasion, convicting 1750. Even fewer inductees attempted to evade the draft in 1951, the first full year of the war, and of 3680 facing charges only 1560 were found guilty. By 1952, the number of cases rose to 5610 with 3130 convictions, leading up to 1953, the most popular year for skipping out on the Korean War draft, when 6300 trials resulted in 3450 guilty verdicts.[218] As months of war lengthened to years, the number of draft dodgers did increase, but never to the levels of the Vietnam War or even of the World Wars. The numbers remained both low and manageable. Like Peter Santella and Tom Clawson, few veterans can even remember men who sought to avoid the draft by fleeing to another state or country.[219] Clawson notes, "I had no thought, and I knew of nobody in high school or college who ever said to me, 'We're going to try to avoid the draft,' or go to Canada or any of that stuff. It just wasn't heard of back then."[220]

But why did Korean War era inductees, especially those receiving their notices after it became clear that Korea would never be a popular war like World War II, not stage demonstrations, burn their draft cards, or simply flee to someplace safe, somewhere where they couldn't be brought back, dressed up, and shipped off to war? Given the draft resistance of World War I, which in some cases required the dispatch of federal troops to quell armed bands of

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showing favoritism. Gallup, *The Gallup Poll: Public Opinion 2000*, 1124. At the end of World War I, where the local boards did everything and a draftee left the board sworn into the military, 79% of those polled said the draft boards were fair. Pollsters did find less satisfaction in June 1966, during the Vietnam War. In that year only 43% of those polled supported the boards. Charles C. Moskos, Jr., ed., *Public Opinion and the Military Establishment* (Beverly Hills, CA: Sage Publications, 1971), 235. Also with regard to the draft see John Whiteclay Chambers II, *To Raise an Army: The Draft Comes to Modern America* (New York: The Free Press, 1987).

[218] *Annual Report of the Director of Selective Service for the Fiscal Year 1952 to the Congress of the United States Pursuant to the Universal Military Training and Service Act as Amended* (Washington, D. C.: United States Government Printing Office, 3 January 1953), 37; *Annual Report of the Director of Selective Service for the Fiscal Year 1953*, 27; *Annual Report of the Director of Selective Service for the Fiscal Year 1954*, 30; and Flynn, *The Draft*, 125-26.

[219] Santella notes "I don't remember anyone going to Sweden to say out of the service." Peter Santella quoted in Berry, *Hey Mac, Where Ya Been?*, 220.

[220] Tom Clawson in Rudy Tomedi, *No Bugles, No Drums*, 148.

deserters, and in the wake of Vietnam, it seems inconceivable that when faced with the prospect of being sent overseas to fight in the inhospitable landscape of a country most Americans neither knew nor cared about, most young men accepted their fate.[221] Many scholars have concluded that low draft calls solve this intriguing puzzle. They argue that because so few men were actually called up during the Korean War, little opportunity for delinquency or incentive for organized resistance existed.[222] While compelling, especially with regard to the two World Wars, this thesis has severe limitations when applied to Vietnam. The Vietnam War posted far higher rates of delinquency than the Korean War, but draft calls for Korea consistently outpaced those of the Vietnam era by some 200,000 annually.[223] Also, Selective Service inducted 1,529,539 men from June 1950 to June 1953, almost as many as during the entire nine years of the Vietnam War when 1,857,304 draftees mustered into the Army.[224] And, if draft calls themselves were to blame for delinquency, the rates would remain steady even if the raw numbers fluctuated by going up with high calls and down with low calls. Something other than low draft calls must explain why more Korean War draftees did not choose to evade the draft.

The veterans themselves when asked to explain why they decided to report for duty cite a number of reasons, with patriotism of one sort or another crowning the list. Called only a few years after the patriotic fervor of World War II, the men of Korea believed then and still believe "it was our duty to serve our country."[225] As Joseph Fabiani relates, "I was a very proud young

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[221] Draft resistance to the World War I draft is ably presented in Jeanette Keith, *Rich Man's War, Poor Man's Fight: Race, Class, and Power in the Rural South During the First World War* (New York: Macmillan, 2004).
[222] See Flynn, *The Draft*, 127 and 167 for one version of this argument.
[223] Wool, "Military Manpower Procurement and Supply," in Little, ed., *Social Research and Military Management*, 40.
[224] "Induction Statistics," History and Records online (http://www.sss.gov/induct.htm), 1-2.
[225] Jimmie L. Clark, Memoir (Korean War Educator), 1. See also John J. Dwyer, Army Service (Korean War) Questionnaire, 1, 5th Regimental Combat Team, Carlisle Barracks.

American going off to serve my country in a time of war."[226] Unlike many of the next generation, they would not turn the United States down when it needed men.[227] Additionally, while the draft could present a financial or career opportunity, draft evasion in the fifties would end in nothing less than humiliation and time in the penitentiary. Mickey Scott remembered the disgrace heaped by communities on those who tried to beat the draft in World War II, extending even to their families. "Weather stripping was the snickered name [given to babies born to draft vulnerable men], the connection being to keep one out of the draft."[228] Rudy Stephens realized that if he tried to outrun his orders to report, "the military would be looking for me for a long time to come" and he "didn't want to take the chance of going to Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, to spend time behind bars."[229] As a generation, Korean War era draftees, trained by the Great Depression to accept their responsibilities without question and hardened from witnessing the sacrifices made by many Americans during the Second World War, could not conceive that it might be possible to refuse Uncle Sam's invitation to the draft and get away with it. They "came from an era of 'It's your privilege to disagree, but not disobey.'"[230] For them, despite great public indifference to the Korean War, no TET Offensive took place to rally the forces of opposition and make draft resistance seem an almost moral choice, and, unlike Vietnam, the war ended before average Americans had time to get tired enough of it to protest. And, if their determination to fulfill their duty wavered, the draftees, like the volunteers, had plenty of

[226] Joseph Gerald Fabiani, Army Service (Korean War) Questionnaire, 1, 2nd Division, 23rd Regiment, Alphabetical Box 1, Carlisle Barracks.
[227] Gerald. R. Hanacek, Army Service (Korean War) Questionnaire, 1, 2nd Division, 23rd Regiment, Alphabetical Box 2, Carlisle Barracks.
[228] Mickey Scott in Murdock, *Forgotten War*, 113.
[229] Stephens, *Old Ugly Hill*, 25. During the Korean War, the average sentence for draft violations peaked at 31 months, only one month short of World War II's high. Not until the late 1960s would sentences surpass this mark. Michael Useem, *Conscription, Protest, and Social Conflict: The Life and Death of a Draft Resistance Movement* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1973), 129.
[230] Jimmie L. Clark, Memoir (Korean War Educator), 1.

examples encouraging them to accept their turn as soldiers. Fathers, uncles, cousins, brothers, and friends had already served in one of the World Wars or even in Korea. How could they refuse to do likewise? For most, the answer was clear, they could not.

Once deciding to report, potential inductees presented themselves to the local board of their community where they received classification in the least liable category for which they were eligible.[231] Those without claim to deferment or exemption moved on to Armed Forces Examining Stations for preinduction exams, both mental and physical.[232] These tests determined whether a registrant would be rejected (classified IV-F for mental or physical exam failure) or classified I-A (available for service).[233] Rejections, however, like deferments, could be temporary.[234] Throughout the war, Congress and Selective Service lowered test standards in order to widen the manpower pool, meaning that many who had been disqualified on the basis of

[231] Inductees often disagreed with local boards about how they should be classified and appealed their status in hopes of deferment. Selective Service Appeal Boards heard 2232 cases in 1950, 31,923 cases in 1951, 49,289 cases in 1952, and 51,123 cases in 1953. *Annual Report of the Director of Selective Service for the Fiscal Year 1953*, 81. Selective Service standards became quite strict during the Korean War, though, and by the end only 30% could expect reclassification from an appeal, a lower percentage than in either World War II (35%) or the Vietnam War (32%). Robert B. Smith, "Disaffection, Delegitimation, and Consequences: Aggregate Trends For World War II, Korea, and Vietnam," in Moskos, ed., *Public Opinion and the Military Establishment*, 235.

[232] During the Korean War, exemptions provided permanent shelter from the draft. Deferments, on the other hand, only shielded men temporarily from being drafted. Also, most men who received some kind of deferment agreed to extend their draft vulnerability to age 35 rather than the usual 26. *Annual Report of the Director of Selective Service for the Fiscal Year 1953*, 5-7 and 15-16. It is interesting to note the variety of physical defects that could bar one from military service during this time period. Among other things, alcoholism, circulatory problems, the loss of one eye, old fractures, flat feet, goiters, a history of rheumatic fever, and sex perversion guaranteed rejection. *Annual Report of the Director of Selective Service for the Fiscal Year 1951 to the Congress of the United States Pursuant to the Universal Military Training and Service Act as Amended* (Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, January 3, 1952), 50-54. It is also interesting to note that the percentage of men deferred went up with educational level. Only 20% of men with less than an eighth grade education qualified for deferment, but 51% of graduate students did. Those with less education more often received rejections, though, based on physical and mental exams. The Army rejected 54% of candidates with less than an eighth grade education but only 29% of those in graduate school. Albert D. Klassen, Jr., *Military Service in American Life Since World War II: An Overview*. (Chicago: National Opinion Research Center/University of Chicago, September 1966), (Report No. 117), 235 and 240.

[233] "Selection Process," 16, (Bradley Commission): Records, 1954-1958, A69-22 and 79-6, Box 58, DDE Library.

[234] Men in class IV-F were deferred in the sense that their status could change as mental or physical test standards changed, resulting in their reclassification. *Annual Report of the Director of Selective Service for the Fiscal Year 1953*, 16.

test failure later had to be reclassified as acceptable.[235] Classification, even for those deemed I-A, did not end the suspense of the process. Low draft calls meant that not every person available for service needed to be called up. While local boards followed an order in summoning draftees to muster in, it could be difficult to predict the date when one would be required to appear for induction.[236] Dan Grimes complained that the draft board alerted him of his imminent call-up in November 1950, but kept delaying his entrance into the Army. Finally, he informed the local board that if they did not draft him fast he was going to enlist in the Air Force. Soon he found himself wearing the Army's uniform and "considering pros and cons of deserting."[237] Whether good luck or bad, not everyone received such a quick response. Delays and uncertainties made it difficult for men, especially those with wives, to prepare for their departures. As one potential inductee wrote, he did not know whether to store his belongings and rent his house immediately or wait because neither the draft board nor he knew when he'd be leaving.[238] Eventually, when the call came, draftees went through a final induction exam, took their oaths, and pulled on their uniforms in preparation for shipment to basic training.

In theory, all young American men of draft age should have shared equally the burden of the draft, but Selective Service provisions and deferment and exemption policies worked to spread service liability unevenly. During the first few months of the conflict, mental test

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[235] Various reclassifications took place throughout the Korean War. In August 1951, the Department of Defense started reexamining some 250,000-300,000 men because the acceptable mental exam score had been dropped. In September 1951, childless husbands deferred for dependency reasons became subject to reclassification as did some rejectees in Class IV-F (physically, mentally, or morally unfit). *Annual Report of the Director of Selective Service for the Fiscal Year 1953*, 61.

[236] Typically the order of call was 1) Registrants delinquent in fulfilling their obligations under the draft law 2) Volunteers for the draft and 3) Men 19-25. Once the UMT&SA of 1951 lowered the age of induction to 18.5, those younger men could only be called after all older I-A males. Wool, "Military Manpower Procurement and Supply," in Little, ed., *Social Research and Military Management*, 53.

[237] Dan Spence Grimes, 1, Army Service (Korean War) Questionnaire, 1, 2nd Division, 23rd Regiment, Alphabetical Box 2, Carlisle Barracks.

[238] Lowell D. Truex to Robert Taft, 27 October 1951, Taft Papers, Box 1061, LOC.

qualification standards led to a high rate of rejection among men from underprivileged backgrounds, allowing them to avoid service while leaving better-heeled and better educated registrants stuck in the draft pool.[239] In fact, mental test failure became a major source of "deferment" or exemption during the war for African Americans and others who were too poor to attend college or to show that military service worked a financial hardship on their families.[240] By June 1951, the Universal Military Training and Service Act rectified the inequity by dramatically dropping the minimum allowable AFQT score and allowing many of those who previously had been disqualified to enter service.[241] Rejection rates based solely on the mental test fell from 16.5% from July 1950-December 1951 to 13.2% of those selected in 1952.[242]

Rejection rates as a whole, whether for administrative reasons or mental or physical exam failures, also fell as the war continued and manpower needs increased. In July 1950, Selective Service rejected 59% of all candidates for induction, but the percentage continued to drop to a

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[239] Between 1950 and 1962, the Selective Service deemed 32.5% of all registrants disqualified for service, one third for mental test scores alone. During that same period, 60% of African American registrants were disqualified, over two thirds for mental test scores alone. Bernard Karpinos, "Results of the Exams of Youth for Military Service, 1966," Supplement to *Health of the Army*, Medical Statistics Agency, Office of the Surgeon General, Department of the Army (Washington D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, March 1967), 14-15. Standards raised again between the Korean War and Vietnam and Selective Service became a target for champions of the underprivileged who claimed that high minimum exam scores barred too many Americans from the benefits of military service. Appy, *Working-Class War*, 30.

[240] From 1950-1966, 54.1% of blacks were rejected by the Selective Service based on AFQT scores. World War II showed a similar pattern. Until the closing years of that war, the minimum literacy standard was set at a fourth grade level. Paul T. Murray, "Blacks and the Draft: A History of Institutional Racism," *Journal of Black Studies* 2:1 (September 1971), 58, 63, and 70.

[241] The practice of lowering standards to increase the number of men available for service had roots in the closing years of the Second World War when Selective Service dropped literacy standards to allow large numbers of functionally illiterate individuals to qualify for service. Wool, "Military Manpower Procurement and Supply," in Little, ed. *Social Research and Military Management*, 42. In turn, Korea provided a model for Vietnam when mental qualification standards for draftees and Army enlistees were reduced in November 1965. Later, Robert McNamara's Project 100,000 waived supplementary aptitude tests for men in Category IV who were high school graduates and allowed men with remedial conditions to muster in. Still, the early years of Vietnam posted a higher rejection rate than the Korean War. From July 1950 to July 1953, only 23.6% of registrants could count on disqualification compared to 35.2% in 1963 and 29.5% in 1966. Wool, "Military Manpower Procurement and Supply," in Little, ed., *Social Research and Military Management*, 43-44. Also Appy, *Working-Class War*, 32.

[242] "Processing Procedures, 1950-1953," 53, (Bradley Commission): Records, 1954-1958, A 69-22 and 79-6, Box 58, DDE Library.

low of 27.7% in February 1951.[243] Lower rejection rates meant that a broader base of males was eligible to be called into the country's service.[244] Eliminating one imbalance in the system, however, did not prevent others from forming or continuing. Eligibility to serve became more widely spread with each passing year of the conflict, but some boys remained more vulnerable than others to Selective Service and involuntary induction.[245]

Throughout the war, ministers of religion and divinity students received exemption, but conscientious objectors did not.[246] Conscientious objectors were liable for either noncombatant service or civilian work, depending on how they felt about contributing to the war effort.[247] Ted Head discovered this the hard way. Classified I-A by the local draft board, Head attempted to avoid service by seeking reclassification as a "pacifist on religious grounds." Failing at that, Head went through all the in-processing until reaching the induction center where he refused to "'step forward' when his name was called to place him officially in the military service." Convicted of draft evasion, a judge sentenced the twenty-two year old to three years in a federal penitentiary with the possibility of a stay of sentence only if Head agreed to muster in as a non-combatant.[248] Since no distinction had been made for COs who served during World War II,

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[243] *Annual Report of the Director of Selective Service for Fiscal Year 1953*, 83.
[244] Ironically, a broader base of males was also more likely to be retained by the services. Manpower pressures of the Korean War resulted in a sharp decline in the numbers of men and women rejected or discharged for homosexuality. From 1947 to 1950, the military tossed about 1000 homosexuals a year out of service, twice as many as during the Korean War. Allan Berube, *Coming Out Under Fire: The History of Gay Men and Women in World War I*I (New York: The Free Press, 1990), 262.
[245] Sole surviving sons, while not classified as either exempt or deferred, could not be drafted during the Korean War. *Annual Report of the Director of Selective Service for the Fiscal Year 1953*, 15.
[246] By 1953, over 60,000 ministers and divinity students held exemptions. COs accounted for a significantly smaller number of men. *Annual Report of the Director of Selective Service for the Fiscal Year 1953*, 21 and 26. In a funny twist, drafting COs probably cost far more than it was worth. Selective Service filed a report saying that the greatest difficulty "is almost universal refusal of members [COs] … to accept any work assignment." *Annual Report of the Director of Selective Service for the Fiscal Year 1953*, 15 and 26.
[247] The Universal Military Training and Service Act of 1951 provided that in lieu of noncombatant service, COs could do civilian tasks in national service. Harry A. Marmion, "Historical Background of Selective Service in the United States," in Roger W. Little, ed., *Selective Service and American Society*, 43.
[248] "Draft Evader Draws Three-Year Term," *Daily Oklahoman*, 2 April 1952, 1.

many conscientious objectors found themselves drafted for a second time during the Korean War as if they were registering for the first time. Such was the case with Robert Dudgeon who had already served 22 months in the Second World War. The local board classified him as IV-E (conscientious objector opposed to both combatant and non-combatant role but available for service), rather than as exempt for previous service.[249]

In general, exemptions also went to military veterans who had served for a minimum period of time and been discharged under honorable conditions.[250] Timing could be cruel, however, and a great many men missed exemption by only days or weeks of service. Raymond Johnston served in the Pacific from August 1945 to August 1946, racking up enough terminal leave to earn him a cash settlement from Congress, but found himself 19 days short of the one year mark that would have gotten him a Korean War draft exemption.[251] Marvin Beech, Jr., a World War II Navy veteran who served 33 months of his 3 year enlistment before being discharged in the congressional effort to reduce manpower also found himself called up for Korea. While willing to serve, Beech could not "see why I have to do my duty twice."[252] Similarly, Doug Brown, who had served 10 months in the Navy during 1945-46 and been drafted again in November 1950, wondered why he and others like him could not be at least "given credit on a month for month basis for previous service toward the present requirement of 24 monthly."[253] For those in the Merchant Marine during World War II, legislation offered no

[249] Robert E. Dudgeon to Robert A. Taft, 18 January 1951, Taft Papers, Box 1061, LOC.
[250] The minimum amount of time varied by the dates one served and the particular law governing such service. For some, the minimum service time allowing one eligibility for deferment under the Korean War draft was 12 months, but for others 6 months service would do. See *Annual Report of the Director of Selective Service for the Fiscal Year 1953*, 20, and *Annual Report of the Director of Selective Service for the Fiscal Year 1954*, 10.
[251] Raymond S. Johnston to Robert A. Taft, 24 July 1951, Taft Papers, Box 1061, LOC.
[252] Clipping "Draft Beckons Vet of 33 Months," included with letter Raymond S. Johnston to Robert A. Taft, 24 July 1951, Taft Papers, Box 1061, LOC.
[253] Pfc. Doug Brown to Robert A. Taft, 11 November 1951, Taft Papers, Box 1061, LOC.

exemptions at all, disappointing given that men currently in the Merchant Marine Reserve, many of whom had never even seen duty, enjoyed exemption.[254] Men who had risked their lives in Italy or on islands in the Pacific could not believe that they would be subject to the Korean War draft simply because they had been mustered out before six months or a year of active duty. They had wives and homes and new college degrees and as a group they felt that their obligations to country had been met. In the end, the pleas of veterans failing to meet the minimum service guidelines for exemption went without further action on their behalf, but a majority of World War II veterans and a sizable chunk of those who began service after that war did obtain immunity from the draft.[255]

In addition to exemptions, a number of deferment options offered temporary relief from draft vulnerability during the Korean War years. The 1948 Selective Service Act deferred for dependency reasons all married registrants as well as most men with children. In any given year of the war, about a million registrants held dependency deferments.[256] This policy caused much controversy, however. Angry reservists complained that they had been recalled without consideration of their marital or dependency status. Divorced, non-custodial fathers pointed out

[254] Arthur G. Poor to Lewis B. Hershey, 13 September 1951; Lewis F. Kosch to Arthur G. Poor, 25 September 1951 and Arthur G. Poor to Lewis F. Kosch, 28 September 1951, Taft Papers, Box 1061, LOC. Men in various Reserve components received exemption from the draft. This did not mean that their units could not be called up for the Korean War and them with it. *Annual Report of the Director of Selective Service for the Fiscal Year 1953*, 15.
[255] Some estimates claim that 2.7 million veterans received exemption. Flynn, *The Draft*, 114. According to the *Annual Report of the Director of Selective Service for Fiscal Year 1953* (21), that number was exempted in 1950. Others assert that half of those in the draft pool, or roughly 400,000 were exempt due to veteran status. Donald D. Stewart, "The Dilemma of Deferment," *Journal of Higher Education* 24:4 (April 1953), 187. A report on the classification of men from 1948-1953 notes that during those years at least 3,868,919 veterans had to be taken out of the pool of registrants due to previous service. *Annual Report of the Director of Selective Service for the Fiscal Year 1953*, 1. Interestingly, Americans were split on whether veterans should have to serve again or not. In a 1951 Gallup Poll, 41% of Americans thought that veterans with less than 1 year of service should be drafted while 40% thought they should not. Gallup, *The Gallup Poll: Public Opinion 2000*, 965.
[256] *Annual Report of the Director of Selective Service for the Fiscal Year 1953*, 17.

that even if they paid child support they could not be considered for deferment.[257] And, some men tried to take advantage of the system by stacking dependency deferments on top of other deferments. Louis Perrino, given a postponement of induction in order to complete school, married shortly before his time to report and tried to get a dependency deferment from the local board on account of his wife's pregnancy.[258] In actuality, cases of deferment pyramiding were rare, but the perception that men were evading service led to changes in the law.[259] As Private Gerald W. Long, whose wife was expecting triplets, learned, by 1951, married men without children could not expect a deferment unless they could prove hardship and the policy of discharging soldiers with four or more dependents applied only to "civilian components of the army—such as the Oklahoma national guard" and not to draftees or volunteers.[260] In 1953 President Dwight Eisenhower issued an executive order ending deferments for fatherhood altogether.[261]

Despite surpluses in government warehouses, many farm workers could thank political lobbying and leftover World War II protections of agriculture for qualifying them for II-C classification (deferred for agricultural occupation).[262] For some, like Bill Dallas, who got to stay home only until crops could be harvested in the fall of 1950, the deferment proved only

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[257] Lewis Hershey related to Robert Taft the story of a man who paid child support but did not live with his daughter and thus was ineligible for deferment. Lewis B. Hershey to Robert A. Taft, 29 April 1951, Taft Papers, Box 1061, LOC.
[258] Louis A. Perrino to Robert A. Taft, 21 July 1951, Taft Papers, Box 1061, LOC.
[259] Despite fears that students would "pyramid" deferments by marrying and having children at the end of their academic deferments, such cases were fairly rare during the Korean War. A 1953 sampling showed that only 3% of registrants classified as II-S (deferred as students) on April 30, 1953 were deferred for dependency exactly one year later. *Annual Report of the Director of Selective Service for the Fiscal Year 1954*, 9, 20, and 49. Graduate students were more likely than undergraduates to try to avoid the draft by pyramiding deferments. Flynn, *The Draft*, 145 and 149.
[260] "Prospective Father of Triplets Due for a Rude, and GI, Shock," *Daily Oklahoman*, 19 February 1951, 4.
[261] *Annual Report of the Director of Selective Service for the Fiscal Year 1953*, 16.
[262] The National Farmers' Union was especially active in protesting the draft, usually on the grounds that it destroyed family farms. Flynn, *The Draft*, 130-31.

temporary.[263] For others, faced with local boards either indifferent to or downright antagonistic toward removing farm hands from the draft pool, the deferment turned out to be elusive. One 55 year old farmer with 600 acres to work bemoaned the fact that his eldest son had been drafted in September 1950 and his younger son was set to be called in early 1951.[264] Another man, afflicted with "double herna and arthuritus [*sic*]," had 139 acres of corn to harvest but couldn't be assured by the board that his 22 year old son would get an extension to see them through the season.[265] In tens of thousands of other instances, though, farm types did get deferred, often for the duration of the conflict and even when they quite clearly should not have.[266] Public opinion held that farm hands should be drafted, but ultimately a higher percentage of agricultural laborers received deferment than any other occupational group during the Korean War.[267]

Farmers secured more than their fair share of deferments, but Selective Service sought to protect other occupational fields as well. Classes II-A (deferred for occupation) and II-B (deferred as government official) existed to defer men employed in any one of a number of professions deemed essential to the national health, safety, or interest.[268] The government especially concerned itself with protecting industrial manpower, science, technology, and production. Petroleum drillers, microbiologists, engineers, geophysicists, machinists,

[263] John William "Bill" Dallas, Memoir (Korean War Educator), 1.
[264] Earl F. Brause to Senator Robert Taft, 6 January 1951, Taft Papers, Box 1061, LOC.
[265] Wilvin R. Long to Senator Robert Taft, 10 September 1951, Taft Papers, Box 1061, LOC.
[266] Many accounts exist of farmers wrangling to get deferments for their sons rather than for the tenant workers actually doing the farming or of farm boys who got farm deferments but ended up working in factories where they could earn more money. For an example, see Edith Dean to Senator Taft, 24 July 1951, Taft Papers, Box 1061, LOC.
[267] Close to 100,000 men per year were deferred for agriculture in 1952 and 1953. *Annual Report of the Director of Selective Service for the Fiscal Year 1953*, 19. Still, 51% of those polled April 13-18, 1952 said that young men working on farms should be drafted. Gallup, *The Gallup Poll: Public Opinion 2000*, 1067. Also Flynn, *The Draft*, 130-131. And, perhaps because of public opinion, things would change by the Vietnam War when rural areas and small towns quite possibly lost more men proportionately than central cities or working class suburbs. Appy, *Working-Class War*, 14.
[268] Relatively high numbers of men did receive deferment based on occupation, but very few government officials seem to have fit into the parameters of draft vulnerability. In 1953, only 19 men were classified II-B. *Annual Report of the Director of Selective Service for the Fiscal Year 1953*, 20.

millwrights, patternmakers, saw-smiths, shipmasters, tool and die makers, mathematicians, government officials, and many others could count on staying home instead of mustering in.[269]

Lastly, large numbers of students enjoyed deferments during the Korean Conflict.[270] Under the Selective Service Act of 1948, high school students under age 20 and some college students received I-S classification (student deferment to complete high school or the current academic year) so long as they continued to do satisfactory schoolwork.[271] This system, however, which really only delayed induction for a short while, proved inadequate at mollifying many Americans. Students halfway through their degree programs wanted time enough to finish college before beginning military service. Professional and scientific groups warned that drafting college students would deplete the country's personnel resources in the very fields crucial to winning the Cold War. These elements pressed at the national level for more generous college deferments.[272] On March 30, 1951, despite his desire to avoid any type of "class

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[269] *Annual Report of the Director of Selective Service for the Fiscal Year 1951*, 55. About 30,000 such men received deferment in 1952 and 1953. *Annual Report of the Director of Selective Service for the Fiscal Year 1953*, 20.

[270] Student deferment actually dates back to World War I and the 1917 Student Army Training Corps which was devised to allow students under 21 to complete 3 years of college before beginning military service. After many revisions which lowered the age of students to below 18 and the amount of education to 9 months, the virtually unused system puttered out with peace. Marmion, "Historical Background of Selective Service in the United States," in Little, ed., *Selective Service and American Society*, 39-40. Post-World War II conditions probably helped to ripen the Korean War era for a new student draft deferment system. During the late 1940s and early 1950s, the federal government gave vast amounts of money to universities for research and development, so much so that colleges like Stanford University developed a dependency upon federal patronage and expanded into applied research to meet military and government needs. Rebecca S. Lowen, *Creating the Cold War University: The Transformation of Stanford* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), 120-122. This link established in the minds of at least some Americans the idea that university trained men were essential to the nation's security and that drafting future scientists and engineers actually put the country at considerable risk.

[271] After the passage of the Universal Military Training and Service Act in 1951, men 18.5 could be inducted and the number of men in I-S classification began to rise. By 1953, local boards began classifying younger registrants in earnest and class I-S grew even larger. *Annual Report of the Director of Selective Service for the Fiscal Year 1953*, 18. Selective Service placed strict limits on college registrants. College students who had already had their induction postponed because of student status, who had been previously occupationally deferred, or who had already had some sort of educational deferment were not eligible for a Korean War student deferment. *Annual Report of the Director of Selective Service for the Fiscal Year 1951*.

[272] *Annual Report of the Director of Selective Service for the Fiscal Year 1954*, 20. Flynn, *The Draft*, 145. Also, Benjamin Fine, "Colleges Urge Student Deferment, Citing Need for Future Leadership," *Special to the New York Times*, 11 January 1951, 16.

legislation," Truman issued an executive order creating a new student deferment program.[273] College males wishing to postpone induction until graduation could do so by passing with 70% or better the 150 question multiple choice Selective Service College Qualification Test or by ranking in the top half of their class, and then asking the local board for II-S (student deferred to complete college) classification.[274] Undergraduates and graduates alike were eligible, but those deferred could only earn a single degree under the system and their draft vulnerability extended to age 35.[275] Hundreds of thousands of men took the SSCQT during the war and tangible results followed. About half a million Selective Service registrants succeeded in getting II-S deferments.[276] By 1952, three-quarters of the nation's male college student population had secured some kind of deferment or exemption to shelter them at least temporarily from military service.[277]

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[273] George Q. Flynn, "The Draft and College Deferments During the Korean War," *Historian* 50 (May 1988), 374. Truman was not alone in his belief that student and other deferments became "class legislation." Edward R. Murrow asserted in 1951 that draft policies gave preferential treatment to an "intellectual elite." *Saturday Review of Literature* 34 (21 April 1951), 23.

[274] *Annual Report of the Director of Selective Service for the Fiscal Year 1953*, 17. Bachelors and doctoral students could have up to four years to finish their degrees, masters students had only 2. Flynn, *The Draft*, 142.

[275] A limerick in the Selective Service newsletter illustrated the lament of students that they could not just remain in school until the end of their draft vulnerability: "Today in college/To gain more knowledge/More and More I strive. A student deferment/Is my preferment/'Til I reach thirty-five. But Selective Service/Has me nervous/They grant but one degree. Despite my plea/For a Ph.D./ They offer me a P.F.C." Quoted in Flynn, *The Draft*, 150.

[276] *Annual Report of the Director of Selective Service for the Fiscal Year 1954*, 19. About 850,000 students total during the war held student deferment classifications. See Paul M. Edwards, *To Acknowledge a War: The Korean War in American Memory* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2000), 109. Also, Flynn, "The Draft and College Deferments During the Korean War," 384. Interestingly, college students passed and failed the SSCQT along clear geographic lines. Students in Mid-Atlantic, New England, West North Central, Pacific, East North Central, and Mountain states were most likely to qualify for deferment while those in East South Central, West South Central, and South Atlantic states were least likely to make the grade. One's major also had an effect. Engineering, physical science and math, biological science, and social science majors had a very high pass rate while students of business and commerce, agriculture, and especially education failed with great frequency. Still, of 482,403 examinees, 62% scored 70% or higher on the exam and those who did not could still hope to qualify for student deferment based on class rank. Educational Testing Service, "Statistical Studies of Selective Service Testing, 1951-1953," Princeton, NJ: ETS, November 1955 (SR-55-30).

[277] Baskir and Strauss, *Chance and Circumstance*, 21. For every industrial worker deferred during the war, three students received a deferment. Flynn, "The Draft and College Deferments During the Korean War," 382.

Whether exempted for a low score on the exam or veteran status or deferred for school work or as an agricultural worker, most of the millions of men shielded from the draft considered themselves just plain lucky and nothing else. They did not see their draft status as privileged treatment and many expected to take their turn if or when the time came. College students in particular viewed deferment as merely a postponement of military service—and for good reason.[278] Amendments made to the Universal Training and Service Act in 1951 extended the liability for service to age 35 for men deferred for reasons other than hardship or dependency.[279] When sociologists questioned a sample of students at 11 universities in 1953, 91% of them said they anticipated serving at least three years in the military after completing their education. Overwhelmingly they acknowledged military service as a duty of citizenship and frowned upon deliberate attempts to evade it.[280]

For Americans outside of draft protection, however, things often looked quite different. Draftees could not help but notice just who failed to turn up at basic training or more revealingly in the foxholes of Korea. While college deferred men often talked of their willingness to serve after completing their schooling, few rushed to enlist after getting their degrees. Of 11,079 men classified II-S in April 1951, only 20% had entered the military a year later, with 50% still II-S and the other 30% reclassified but not yet mustered in.[281] Some university students went to great lengths to legally avoid military responsibility. William Dannenmaier marveled that both a

[278] This is in sharp contrast to the Vietnam War when young men of prosperous families often expected to avoid military service altogether by avoiding the draft and refusing to volunteer. Appy, *Working-Class War*, 6-12.
[279] "Section I: Selection Process (Korean Conflict)," 14, (Bradley Commission): Records, 1954-1958, A 69-22 and 79-6, Box 58, DDE Library.
[280] Robin M. Williams, Jr., Edward A. Suchman, and Rose K. Goldsen, "Reactions of College Students to Manpower Policies and the Military Service Prospect," *The Educational Record* 34 (April 1953), 102.
[281] Flynn, *The Draft*, 144. It should be noted, however, that to a point the percent classified I-A went up as the educational level of the registrant went up. Many college students received deferments, but men with less than a high school education often received exemptions based on mental exam scores.

football player from the University of Missouri and a basketball player from Washington University in St. Louis failed their mid-1951 physicals while he passed with flying colors.[282] James Brady watched the son of "some big noise in Washington" get off the troop ship in Japan while everyone else went on to Korea.[283] Mothers wanted to know "why college students have any more right to be deferred than a young man … working and waiting until financially able to take the training for his life's work." They asked, "Isn't this country, the college boy's country and hasn't he just as much right to defend it … as the less fortunate ones who were nabbed before they were financially able to enter schools?"[284] Other Americans, sensing that draft policies failed to share service obligations fairly among draft age cohorts, insisted that "the rich should go as well as the poor."[285] Foreshadowing the troubles of the Vietnam era, charges of class and race bias followed the draft throughout the Korean War.[286] No matter what registrants with exemptions or deferments thought about their classifications, average Americans and inductees often believed that middle and upper class white men had managed to get a better deal from Selective Service.[287] So widespread was this notion that President Eisenhower's Assistant Secretary of Defense John Hannah labeled Korea "a poor man's war."[288]

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[282] William D. Dannenmaier, *We Were Innocents: An Infantryman in Korea* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1999), 11.
[283] James Brady, *The Coldest War: A Memoir of Korea* (New York: Orion Books, 1990), 222.
[284] Mrs. Fern Brakefield to Robert A. Taft, 10 October 1951, Taft Papers, Box 1061, LOC.
[285] Mrs. Jack Carter to Senator Taft, 17 August 1951, Taft Papers, Box 1061, LOC. Several other letters follow the same theme that the rich shouldn't get all the breaks. See also Mrs. Ida Vordenberg to Senator Taft, 11 October 1951, Taft Papers, Box 1061, LOC.
[286] Academics writing about Korean War draft policies stress that Americans accepted and even supported the deferment system because it protected American values like home, family, and education. However, had Korea lasted as long as the Vietnam War people might have more actively protested the system which herded poorer boys into military service while men who could afford college or who had been able to train for protected occupations remained outside its reach. Through opinion polls, one can see the decline in public support for student deferments. In April 1951, 55% of those polled believed that college students passing a test should be allowed to complete college before entering the Armed Forces, but in April 1952, only 24% thought students making good grades should be able to graduate before being drafted. Gallup, *Gallup Poll: Public Opinion 2000*, 985 and 1067.
[287] Donald D. Stewart, "The Dilemma of Deferment," *Journal of Higher Education* 24:4 (April 1953), 188. Some foundation for criticisms of the Korean War draft did exist. In 1950, half of American families earned less than

In reality, the draft probably did catch more men from Harlem or Muskogee than Manhattan or Tulsa, with high school rather than college diplomas.[289] But, Selective Service provided only one avenue to military duty during the Korean War period, accounting for far fewer accessions than voluntary enlistment. If one considers that college-educated men joined up in numbers roughly proportionate to their percentage of the population, and that regardless of income factors the military participation rate for the draft age cohort averaged 70-75%, the Korean era military seems quite equitable in its manpower procurement.[290] Also, though the regular draft slanted in favor of the rich and educated, Selective Service targeted doctors, dentists, and others with the 1950 Doctors' Draft. All males under 50 in medical, dental, or allied fields had to sign up, even those already in the draft pool.[291] Like regular inductees, they could try for deferments or exemptions, but in 1952 shortages of qualified personnel led the Department of Defense to decree that anyone fit to carry on a private practice was fit for military duty.[292] The Doctors' Draft actually resulted in few inductions, but it did pressure tens of

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$3000 a year, clearly too little to afford the $700-$1000 a year tuition demanded by universities across the country. So, most young men of meager means could not have hoped for a college deferment. Flynn, "The Draft and College Deferment During the Korean War," 380. Also, men in some regions had a better chance statistically of scoring a student deferment than others. Candidates from the Mid Atlantic, West North Central, Pacific, and Mountain states as well as New England consistently outscored men from the East South Central, West South Central, and South Atlantic states on the SSCQT. Educational Testing Service, "Statistical Studies of Selective Service Testing, 1951-1953," SR 55-30 (Princeton, NJ: ETS, November 1955), 6.

[288] Quoted in Flynn, *The Draft*, 126.

[289] A selective sampling shows that as the educational level went up, the percent of those entering active service through the draft went down. Thus, 56% of men with less than an 8th grade education entered the Armed Forces because they were drafted, but only 39% of high school graduates and 23% of college graduates who entered were drafted. Klassen, *Military Service in American Life Since World War II*, 250.

[290] Flynn, "The Draft and College Deferments During the Korean War," 384. Appy, *Working-Class War*, 18 and 30.

[291] Eligible males 26 and under could be called by either draft. One father wrote to the Director of Selective Service to make him aware that doctors such as his son were being forced to enter the Army as privates under the regular draft. Clarence M. Salzer to Colonel Richard H. Eames, 19 November 1951, Taft Papers, Box 1061, LOC.

[292] Flynn, *The Draft*, 156.

thousands of men into enlisting, picking up commissions and bonuses, and serving 12 months.[293] And, it helped to remedy some of the inequalities inherent in the Selective Service system.

Like draftees of the Civil War and World War I and even the "Good War," most of those who appeared for induction during the Korean War would rather have stayed home. Few draftees relished the idea of stomping around in military issue boots, especially if those boots marched them into a war zone. Even fewer wanted to leave everything and everyone familiar behind. Unlike many of the boys of World War I or World War II who served alongside friends or neighbors, the draftees of Korea rotated in and out of service alone.[294] They tried for exemptions and deferments and they blamed local boards or appeals boards or the "damned" Selective Service when it came their time to muster into the Army. But they did not riot like New Yorkers conscripted during the Civil War nor attack federal officials enforcing the draft as men did during the First World War and they seldom ran from the draft as many of their brothers of the Vietnam era.[295] They groused and griped and grumbled, but draftees did the jobs Uncle Sam asked them to do and they did it better in many instances than those who willingly signed up for military service.[296] The draftees, though, by and large remained civilians at heart. They wore the uniforms, but it was the value that they placed on citizenship, the acknowledgment of

[293] Flynn, *The Draft*, 154-159; Otto F. Apel, Jr. and Pat Apel, *M*A*S*H: An Army Surgeon in Korea* (U. S. A.: University Press of Kentucky, 1998); and Dorothy G. Horwitz, *We Will Not Be Strangers: Korean War Letters Between a M.A.S.H. Surgeon and His Wife* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1997).
[294] During World War I, men were drafted by geographical area. In World War II, troops were replaced by unit—units which trained and served together. For the first time in American history, during the Korean War, most men mustered in on an individual basis, went to training alone, and were sent to replace individual troops in established units. Then, they were replaced and rotated out one at a time according to a point system. Edwards, *To Acknowledge a War*, 109.
[295] The July 1863 draft riots proved the greatest incident of domestic violence to that time. See Mark E. Neely, Jr., *The Fate of Liberty: Abraham Lincoln and Civil Liberties* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), 69 and 133.
[296] See section on volunteers above.

duty drilled into them during childhood that caused them to pack up and go "to unknown places to serve our country as our leaders suggested."[297]

Who Mustered In During the Korean War Era?

Dressed in olive drab or navy blue and with ready salutes, the men and women who mustered in for the Korean Conflict looked much the same as those who entered the Armed Forces during other American wars. But, as scholarship has shown, the composition of the American military has never remained constant, and the color and kinds of faces in uniform have changed from generation to generation. And, Korea was a war between wars—between World War II, when participation in the military became a generational experience, and Vietnam, when service grew into an issue of socio-economic class.[298] So the question arises, just who served in the Armed Forces during the early 1950s and what characteristics did they share with each other or with veterans of other eras? Was the Korean War military a middle ground between World War II and Vietnam?

As soldiers and military personnel go, those who served during the Korean Conflict were a youthful lot. Conditions in Korea demanded the quick mobilization of manpower, but unlike World War II or even the Civil War the Armed Forces did not need every able man young or old

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[297] Jimmie L. Clark, Memoir (Korean War Educator), 1. Also, T. R. Fehrenbach, *This Kind of War: A Study in Unpreparedness* (New York: Macmillan, 1963), 91.

[298] While there is little debate that World War II provided a generational experience for men and women of many ethnic, racial, social, economic, and educational backgrounds, scholars still argue over the nature of the Vietnam War. Traditionally Vietnam has been depicted as a class war in which the sons of poor men served while the wealthy protected their boys through educational deferments or other means. See Appy, *Working-Class War* and Myra MacPherson, *Long Time Passing: Vietnam and the Haunted Generation* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1984). Recently, some revisionists have tried to dispel the idea that Vietnam was class or race biased. See Burkett, *Stolen Valor*.

to slip into uniform. Initially, the Department of Defense recalled Reservists and Guardsmen for shipment to Korea, but as the war continued Selective Service and recruiters targeted younger men for induction and enlistment.[299] Despite the efforts of local boards to call up older registrants first, the draft pressured enough teenagers to enter the Army and Marines that mothers complained about being "sick and tired of this child draft" and asked "when did this country get so bad off it has to take our children directly out of schools to protect us?"[300] By 1952, troops in the field noticed the "youthful homogeneity" of their platoons and noted that most of their comrades seemed to be between the ages of 18 and 21.[301] In all, the average age of American soldiers was 23 during the Korean War, three years younger than in World War II and the Civil War and two years younger than in World War I.[302] But, if one considers that this number includes the typically older reserve type personnel called up during the first year of the war, it is possible that the average soldier of Korea, especially after 1951, was actually closer in age to his 19 year old Vietnam War counterpart than the statistics imply.[303] Also, given the types of

[299] Under the 1948 draft law, men 19-26 could be inducted, but the 1951 UMT&SA lowered the age to 18.5, a change which led to much debate in Congress. Ultimately, unable to change the policy, some congressmen fought to lower the voting age "enabling every one of those boys, whom they are going to draft … to vote regardless of age. If they are old enough to fight they are old enough to vote." Congressman Edwin Arthur Hall in *Congressional Record* (House), 82d Congress, 1st Session, 97, part 2 (Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1951), 2605. Such legislation would not pass until 1971 when the voting age was lowered to 18. Appy, *Working-Class War*, 27.

[300] Mrs. A. E. Erickson to Robert A. Taft, 3 March 1952, Taft Papers, Box 1196, LOC.

[301] Roger W. Little, "Buddy Relations and Combat Performance," in Morris Janowitz, ed., *The New Military: Changing Patterns of Organization* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1964), 196.

[302] During the Civil War the average age of soldiers was 25.54 and in World War I it was 24.89. In World War II, the average enlisted man was 26, while in Korea he was only 23. Offsetting the general youth of the Korean War military, officers during the Korean period had an average age of 33, 3 years older than the average World War II officer. "Section 11," 7-8, (Bradley Commission): Records, 1954-1958, A 69-22 and 79-6, Box 61, DDE Library.

[303] Some scholars place the average age of Korean War soldiers at 20. Stokesbury, *A Short History of the Korean War*, 45. This seems possible in light of available data. In 1955, the Bradley Commission estimated that almost half of Korean War veterans with no World War II service were 22 years old or younger during the Korean War. Of 3,188,000 such veterans, 26,000 were under age 18 and another 1,406,000 were age 18-22. "Veteran Population—General," folder "Estimated Age of Veterans in Civil Life, June 30, 1955," (Bradley Commission): Records, 1955-1958, A 69-22, Box 85, DDE Library. Also, a 1987 survey of veterans found that a little over 79% of those who served in Korea were between the ages of 16 and 25 in 1953. "1987 Survey of Veterans (conducted for the Department of Veterans Affairs by the U. S. Bureau of the Census) (July 1989)," 19, NA, RG 015, Box 1.

MOS's for which men with less education could qualify, great probability exists that younger men more often found their way to the war zone as front line soldiers or Marines than did older candidates who had more skills or experience to offer.

Though not subject to the same draft pressures as men, enlisted women and even many female officers in the Korean War Armed Forces tended to be quite young.[304] Perhaps because of regulations restricting married women and mothers from military service, teenagers made up 40% of new female recruits after June 1951. By December 1952, more than half of the enlisted women in all branches of service were under age 26 and in the Marine Corps 52% were 18-21 and in the Air Force 47% were 18-20. The Army and Navy retained greater numbers of older enlistees, but the Army still had 35% between 18 and 20 in its ranks and the Navy had 27% under the age of 20. Not surprisingly, nurses and women medical specialists in all the corps were older, having completed degree programs of one type or another before entering service. But, officers not infrequently fell into younger age groups. About 36% of female Army officers were age 30 or under and in the Marine Corps 51% were age 21-25. Only the Navy could boast 67% of female officers over the age of 30.[305] For women as for men during the Korean War, the faces behind the uniforms reflected a certain youth as service became the obligation of ever younger Americans, a trend that would continue into the Vietnam era.[306]

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[304] Women made up a little over 2% of troops during the Korean War, less than during either World War II or Vietnam. "National Survey of Veterans 1992/3," 25, NA, RG 015, Box 1.

[305] Office of the Assistant Secretary of Defense, Memorandum for the Advertising Council, "Information About Women in the Armed Services," 3 December 1952, 5, Staff Files, Files of the Special Assistant Relating to the Office of Coordinator of Government Public Service Advertising (James M. Lambie, Jr.), Women in the Services—Correspondence 1952-1953, Box 9, folder "Women in the Service (Policy Material), DDE Library.

[306] After World War II, the average age of enlistees continued to decline until reaching low but stable levels during the Vietnam War. Anne Hoiberg, "Military Staying Power," in Sam Sarkesian, ed., *Combat Effectiveness: Cohesion, Stress, and the Volunteer* (Beverly Hills, CA: Sage, 1980), 218.

Despite their age, recruits and draftees in the early 1950s possessed educational levels favorably comparable to those of their World War II brethren. America had changed in the interwar period, giving kids the opportunity to acquire more years of schooling at a more tender age than in the past.[307] Also, with manageable draft calls, Selective Service could be somewhat more selective in choosing registrants for active duty.[308] As a result, about 50% of Army enlisted personnel in the Second World War had completed at least 12 years of school, but 52.6% of enlisted military personnel in 1952 had high school diplomas and another 9.9% could claim some college credit though not a university degree.[309] In this way, the Korean War proved a stepping stone to the better educated Armed Forces of the Vietnam War when about 60% of the troops had high school diplomas.[310]

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[307] In 1940, the median years of school for those age 25 and over was only 8.4. By 1950 that figure had risen by almost a year of schooling to 9.3. Bureau of the Census Library, Prepared under the direction of Morris B. Ullman in the Office of the Assistant Director for Statistical Standards, *Statistical Abstract of the United States 1953* (Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1953), 115. Women wishing to join any of the services had to have graduated high school or passed an equivalent test so all servicewomen would have had a degree of one sort or another. "Policy Guide for Women in the Armed Services Information Program, 1953, U. S. Army, U. S. Navy, U. S. Air Force, U. S. Marine Corps," 9 February 1953, 4, Staff Files, Files of the Special Assistant Relating to the Office of Coordinator of Government Public Service Advertising (James M. Lambie, Jr.), Box 9, DDE Library.

[308] Selective Service more frequently rejected those with low educational levels for mental test failure. About 54% of men with less than an 8th grade education were rejected as compared to 12% of high school graduates and 14% of men with some college but no degree. Klassen, *Military Service in American Life Since World War II*, 240. During the Korean War, Selective Service disqualified 7.9% of draft liable men for mental exam failure as opposed to 3.2% during World War II. By December 1966, 9.5% would be disqualified on mental grounds. Wool, "Military Manpower Procurement and Supply," in Little, ed., *Social Research and Military Management*, 43. Despite higher rejection rates, 40% of the Army's accessions during the Korean War were classified below mental group III, compared to the Marine Corps (34%), Navy (27%), and Air Force (27%) which tended to draw personnel from higher mental groups. "Section I: Selection Process," 20, (Bradley Commission): Records, 1954-58, A 69-22 and 79-6, Box 58, DDE Library.

[309] Hoiberg, "Military Staying Power," in Sarkesian, ed., *Combat Effectiveness*, 214. Charles C. Moskos, Jr., *The American Enlisted Man: The Rank and File in Today's Military* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1970), 196. Perhaps because of draft pressures, those in the Korean War military averaged more years of education than their civilian peers. The 1950 Census found that 50.3% of Americans age 18-20 had less than a high school diploma and 46.5% of those 21-24 had no degree. *Statistical Abstract of the United States 1953*, 114. Comparing Selective Service registrants with the general population, George Flynn found that the pool of registrants reflected the larger society. However, the percent classified I-A (available for service) went up as the educational level of the registrant went up. Flynn, *The Draft*, 144.

[310] The percent of troops with high school degrees fluctuated throughout the Vietnam War from a low of 56.9% in 1970 to a high of 65.5% in 1968. Overall, though, 60.3% of those who served in the Vietnam years had completed

While pressure from the Korean draft ensured the enlistment and induction of high school graduates, student deferment policies worked to reduce the draft vulnerability of college and university students, resulting in a decline in the percentage of servicemen with college diplomas. In World War II, 8.5% of the troops held bachelor's degrees or better, but by the Korean War only 3.9% did and the rate would slip further to just 2.6% during the Vietnam War when gross inequities resulted in protest.[311] Not surprisingly, however, officers had a higher level of education than enlisted men.[312] Some 46.6% of commissioned officers during the Korean Conflict had college degrees and an additional 29.6% had at least some college. Only 4.4% of officers had not completed high school. This trend toward a better educated base of officers continued after the war and by 1965, over 70% of officers would possess a college diploma and less than 1% would lack a high school degree.[313] Among average G. I.'s, though, college diplomas remained scarce.

Ironically, despite mental test qualification standards and the drift toward better educated personnel, a large percentage of men with less than a fourth grade education filtered into service, especially into the Army, during the Korean War era. Almost 150,000 men of 2 million receiving special training fell under the label "illiterate, non-English speaking, and below 4th

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high school. Reports and Statistics Service, Office of the Controller, Veterans Affairs, *Bringing the War Home*, Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 11 April 1972, 303. Also Appy, *Working-Class War*, 25-26.

[311] Hoiberg, "Military Staying Power," in Sarkesian, ed., *Combat Effectiveness*, 214. A Department of Defense study places the rate of college degreed enlisted men much lower for the Korean and Vietnam Wars. It found that in 1952 only 2.8% of enlisted personnel had college degrees, still higher than in 1965 when only 1.3% did. Moskos, *The American Enlisted Man*, 196.

[312] The Air Force provides one possible exception to this. From July 1946 to December 1947, 77% of 14,000 regular commissions went to officers without college degrees. In 1948, 75.4% of regular Navy officers and 62.8% of Army officers possessed a baccalaureate degree compared to only 37.05% of those in the Air Force. Struggling with low educational levels, the Air Force instituted a number of college credit programs on the eve of 1950, but the outbreak of war served to keep educational levels low throughout the early 1950s. John Darrell Sherwood, *Officers in Flight Suits: The Story of American Air Force Fighter Pilots in the Korean War* (New York: New York University Press, 1996), 11-13.

[313] Moskos, *The American Enlisted Man*, 196. Some sources estimate that 55% of all Korean era officers had college degrees. Klassen, *Military Service in American Life Since World War II*, 255.

grade educational level." More than twice as many men were so categorized during World War II, but they amounted to a small minority of the 7 million trained.[314] By the Vietnam War, less educated men would again find it difficult to qualify for military service and only about 21% of Americans with less than an 8th grade education would muster in as opposed to the Korean War when 35% did.[315] Still, as a whole the 1950s military seemed to be moving away from both the uneducated and the highly educated and toward the vast middle ground of high school graduates.

Given the narrowing educational level of G. I.'s during the Korean War, one might reasonably wonder if the social classes of the men and women answering the call to colors also changed. Did the burden of service fall to members of all social strata as in the Second World War or did the sons and daughters of the working class disproportionately carry the responsibility as in Vietnam?[316] Increasingly aware of student and other deferments, many people at the time certainly came to believe that draft policies protected an economic or "intellectual elite" while pressing poorer folk into the military machine.[317] Assistant Secretary of Defense John Hannah even asserted that "there is too much validity in the statement often made that the son of the well-to-do family goes to college and the sons of some of the rest go to Korea?"[318] While many scholars agree, asserting that Korea was indeed a "poor man's war," the likelihood of military service in actuality had less to do with whether or not one came from a

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[314] The rate for specialized training for this category of men was highest in the Army during the Korean War. During World War I, a greater percentage of men in this classification received training than during either Korea or World War II—129,000 out of 791,548. In part this might simply be a reflection of changes taking place in American society as young people received more years of education with each passing generation. It might also be a reflection of mental qualification standards for service. "Section 3: Training (2)," Tab E-1, Tab E-2, Tab E-3, and Tab E-4, (Bradley Commission): Records, 1954-1958, A 69-22 and 79-6, Box 58, DDE Library.
[315] Klassen, *Military Service in American Life Since World War II*, 230. Also, Flynn, *The Draft*, 126.
[316] During the Vietnam War, those with low income had a greater chance of military service than those with either middle or high income. Baskir and Strauss, *Chance and Circumstance*, 9. Some scholars claim that 80% of those who served during Vietnam were working class or poor. Appy, *Working-Class War*, 6-7 and 24-30.
[317] Edward R. Murrow in *Saturday Review of Literature* 34 (21 April 1951), 23.
[318] John Hannah in *United States News* 34 (20 February 1953), 18-20.

wealthy family than with other factors like reserve call-ups, draft pressure, and recruitment. Office managers, steelworkers, salesmen, and the unemployed all sent their sons into the Army or Marines or one of the other branches of service in roughly proportionate numbers, with 67-76% of draft age cohorts donning uniforms. Only the sons of farmers could claim a significantly lower rate of military service, with 56% of them joining up.[319] In general, service remained the obligation of all classes of eligible men.[320]

While social status had little effect on whether or not one mustered into the Armed Forces during the Korean War, it probably did affect how men served their time. Upper class youths who had been able to not only complete high school but afford some college before entering service were well-positioned to move on from basic training to either advanced training or specialized units while the sons of the lower classes with their rudimentary schooling shuttled off to the front lines as combat infantrymen.[321] A study of men from Detroit determined that the casualty rate dropped as the income level rose and that nonwhites suffered a rate twice that of their white counterparts.[322] While flawed in various ways, the study does support the conclusions of many scholars that combat units in the war zone had an unduly high concentration of soldiers from the lower and working classes.[323] Also, the Bradley Commission concluded that

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[319] Klassen, *Military Service in American Life Since World War II*, 232. Also, Flynn, *The Draft*, 126. In some ways it is easier to estimate the social class of Korean servicemen by their fathers' occupations as the relative youth of the troops meant that many had not yet settled on career paths of their own before entering service. About 26% of Korean soldiers mustered in straight out of school. President's Commission on Veterans' Pensions, *Readjustment Benefits: General Survey and Appraisal. A Report on Veterans' Benefits in the United States*. (Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1956), 75-76.

[320] See Frank O. Pruitt, entry at United States of America Korean War Commemoration Site (http://korea50.army.mil/history/remember/index.shtml), 16. Also Appy, *Working-Class War*, 30.

[321] Memo John Folger to Burke Marshall, "Conversation with Morris Janowitz, University of Chicago," 19 August 1966, NA, RG 220, File C.10.1, 6.

[322] Albert J. Mayer and Thomas Ford Hoult, "Social Stratification and Combat Survival," *Social Forces* 34:2 (December 1955), 155-159.

[323] In particular the study divided Detroit into wealthy and poor neighborhoods and then plotted the numbers of casualties per neighborhood. Poorer neighborhoods, though, tend to have denser populations than wealthier

while 64% of accessions in the Army at home during the Korean War had tested above mental group IV, only 15% of men sent to overseas commands had.[324] The Korean War military might not have suffered from class bias, but the units in Korea quite likely did.

Unlike men, women came to the military from a more limited range of social classes. Regulations requiring a high school diploma or the equivalent effectively weeded out women who for economic or other reasons had failed to finish their education. Women with few work skills and those on the lower end of the occupational pay scale also tended to remain civilians. At least in the Air Force and Navy virtually no domestic workers, food service personnel, agriculturalists or horticulturalists left their day jobs to answer Uncle Sam's call.[325] Similarly, on the upward end of the scale, few coeds traded their textbooks for service stripes and female managers and professionals steered clear of the recruiter's office. Of servicewomen claiming a previous career, the vast majority listed clerical or secretarial work as their mainstay.[326] Later, as days of war spun into months and years, all of the services accepted younger women who had

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neighborhoods because of small lot sizes and multi-family housing structures. Also, wealthier areas often consist of older residents rather than of parents with draft age kids. One might well expect a higher participation rate from a younger, more populated area than one with older and fewer people. So, the casualty rate of neighborhoods might not accurately reflect the class composition of the troops as compared to the home community. Still, many scholars make the claim that the lower classes were overrepresented in combat units in Korea. See Moskos, *The American Enlisted Man*, 10 and Morris Janowitz and Roger W. Little, *Sociology and the Military Establishment*, 3rd ed. (Beverly Hills, CA: Sage Publications, 1974), 112.

[324] "Section I: Selection Process (Korean Conflict)," 20, (Bradley Commission): Records, 1954-1958, A 69-22 and 79-6, Box 58, DDE Library.

[325] Both the Air Force and Navy conducted personnel surveys in 1951 to find out what careers servicewomen had pursued before entering the Armed Forces. In the Air Force, only 1% had been engaged in domestic service and 3% in food service, the professions at the lower end of the social scale. In the Navy, .002% were domestic workers, .003% were in agriculture or horticulture, and 5.2% claimed personal service. Office of the Assistant Secretary of Defense, Memorandum for the Advertising Council, "Information About Women in the Armed Services," 8 December 1952, 4-5, Staff Files, Files of the Special Assistant Relating to the Office of Coordinator of Government Public Service Advertising (James M. Lambie, Jr.), Women in the Services—Correspondence 1952-1953, Box 9, folder "Women in the Service (Policy Material), DDE Library.

[326] In the Air Force survey, 31% of servicewomen said they came from clerical/secretarial jobs, 11% from sales, 9% from factory/plant work, and only 2% from one kind of school or another. In the Navy, 73% claimed a clerical background, 3% professional, 4.5% semi-professional, 2% managerial or office, 5.3% sales, and 9% skilled/semi-skilled/unskilled. *Ibid*. For more on female recruits, see also Robert A. Rogers III, "These Boots Wear Skirts," *United States Naval Institute Proceedings* 75:9 (September 1949), 1024-1025 and Gertrude Samuels, "It's 'Hup, 2, 3, 4' and 'Yes, Ma'am,'" *New York Times*, 3 September 1950, 88.

not yet begun gainful employment, but nothing suggests that these teenagers differed socially from their more mature peers. The women who looked for opportunity in the Armed Forces belonged to neither the lowest station of society nor the highest.

Racially, the faces of the troops during the Korean War revealed a new and slightly darker American military. During World War I and World War II as in the years before Korea, the Armed Forces employed a variety of means to limit minority and especially black participation in the military.[327] All branches of service established quota systems, allowing only a certain number of African Americans into uniform, and then shepherded the fortunate few into special segregated units.[328] On the eve of Korea, however, racial policies began to change. Hamstrung by black resistance to his proposal of Universal Military Service and genuinely touched by the plight of African American World War II veterans, Truman issued Executive Order 9981 in July 1948.[329] This order not only called for equality of treatment and opportunity for all servicemen, by which Truman meant the eventual integration of the military, but for the creation of the Fahy Committee which would suggest and implement changes.[330] Ultimately, pressure from the Fahy Committee along with manpower needs in Korea caused the Army and

[327] The great irony is that during World War I and II quota systems prevented many blacks from enlisting but allowed local boards to draft black youths at a higher rate than their white counterparts. During World War I, blacks comprised 9.63% of the total population, but 13.08% of those drafted and 34.1% of black registrants were called to induction compared to only 24.04% of white registrants. Similarly, during World War II, many African Americans found the path to voluntary enlistment fraught with troubles, but at the same time had difficulty securing deferments from the draft. After 1950, Selective Service did not keep statistics by race so it is difficult to determine how many blacks actually received a Korean War deferment or to find out what types of deferments African Americans held. Murray, "Blacks and the Draft," 58, 63, and 68. See also Westheider, *Fighting on Two Fronts*, 22.

[328] For more on the racial policies of the Armed Forces, refer to MacGregor, *Integration of the Armed Forces*; Richard Dalfiume, *Desegregation of the Armed Forces: Fighting on Two Fronts, 1939-1953* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1969); Nalty, *Strength For the Fight;* and Bowers, et al., *Black Soldier, White Army*.

[329] When Truman proposed universal military training, A. Philip Randolph and other African Americans protested because such legislation would force blacks to serve in a segregated institution, the Army. Randolph insisted "Negroes are in no mood to shoulder a gun for democracy abroad as long as they are denied democracy here at home." Subsequently, UMT was defeated. Murray, "Blacks and the Draft," 67-68.

[330] Asked by a reporter whether equality of opportunity meant the eventual end of segregation, Truman replied "Yes." Bernard C. Nalty and Morris J. MacGregor, eds., *Blacks in the Military: Essential Documents* (Wilmington, DE: Scholarly Resources, 1981), 240.

even the Marines to integrate troops in the war zone and abolish quotas.[331] By April 1950 the legal barriers blocking black enlistment had lifted. As a result, the percentage of African Americans mustering into the military began to rise, especially in the Army. In 1949, only 5.9% of those in the Armed Forces and 8.6% of Army soldiers were black, but by 1954 7.9% of military and 11.3% of Army personnel could claim African heritage.[332] This trend continued into the next war. By 1965, 9.5% of military personnel and 12.8% of the Army were black.[333] And, unlike their brothers of the First and Second World Wars, the "tan" soldiers of Korea and Vietnam were more likely than others to do their duty "in country" and in combat.[334]

Every state produced recruits and inductees for the Korean Conflict, but a lower percentage of draft eligible men mustered in from the Far West and South than from other sections of the country. Overall, 79% of Northerners and 76% of Midwesterners served, but only 70% of men from the Far West and 72% of Southerners did.[335] In part, the rural nature of states like Mississippi or Wyoming helps to account for this disproportion. With a high percentage of

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[331] Ibid., 296. Also, MacGregor, *Integration of the Armed Forces*, 312.

[332] Only in the Navy did the percentage of blacks decrease from 4 to 3.2% in these years. The Air Force went from 4.5% to 7.5% African American and the Marine Corps rose from 1.9 to 5.9%. Moskos, *The American Enlisted Man*, 214. While integration meant that more blacks could find their way into service via the draft because they could be used to fill out any unit, enlistments also shot up once quotas were lifted. In April 1950, African Americans accounted for about 10.2% of enlisted personnel, but by December 1952 that ratio had gone up to 13.2%. MacGregor, *Integration of the Armed Forces*, 430. Some scholars claim that by mid-1951 one in four new Army recruits was black. Westheider, *Fighting on Two Fronts*, 22.

[333] Moskos, *The American Enlisted Man*, 214. The rising ratio of black servicemen seems to be further substantiated by veteran surveys. The "National Survey of Veterans, 1979" found that the proportion of black veterans increased over successive wars from 6.9% of World War II veterans to 7.4% of Korean Conflict veterans to 8.4% of Vietnam veterans. "National Survey of Veterans, 1979," 10, NA, RG 015, Box 1.

[334] During World War II, many African Americans were relegated to support units and blacks were far less likely than whites to serve overseas. In the Korean War and the Vietnam War, however, blacks were more likely than whites to serve outside of the United States. "1987 Survey of Veterans (conducted for the Department of Veterans Affairs by the U. S. Bureau of the Census) (July 1989)," 12, NA, RG 015, Box 1. Westheider, *Fighting on Two Fronts*, 22. Appy, *Working-Class War*, 18-19. Puerto Ricans were also more likely to see combat in Korea than during either of the World Wars when many of them were sent to guard the Panama Canal. Matthew Hay Brown, "New Generation Fights for 65th," *Orlando Sentinel* (FL), 27 May 2002, A 1.

[335] These figures come from averaging the percent of men from metropolitan areas, small towns, and rural residences from each section of the country who served. Klassen, *Military Service in American Life Since World War II*, 234.

their populations living outside of metropolitan areas or small cities, Western and Southern states simply had lots of men eligible for agricultural deferments and a higher percentage of rural dwellers in these areas got deferred than in other regions of the country.[336] Also, especially in the South, the general health and educational level of residents prevented many males from entering the military. Mental exams like the Armed Forces Qualification Test had a provisional minimum threshold equivalent to about an eighth grade education.[337] This presented a stumbling block for men in states like North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana where the median number of school years completed by persons age 25 and older fell months or even a year short of the eighth grade standard.[338] Consequently, these states led the country in IV-F classifications with Mississippi suffering a higher rate than the Virgin Islands.[339] In all, the Armed Forces rejected only 11% of Northern boys, but declared almost 18% of Southerners unfit for one reason or another.[340]

Saddled with high rates of rejection, some Southern states might have failed to shoulder their share of the manpower burden for Korea, but Southern men were still well represented in the Armed Forces. West Virginia had 95,000 men or 4.73% of its total population in uniform.[341] Only Maine, New Hampshire, and Vermont could come close to that rate of participation.

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[336] Of men living in rural areas, 14% of Northerners, 15% of Midwesterners, 15% of Southerners, and 24% of men in the Far West received deferments. Ibid., 239.
[337] Ibid., 9.
[338] *Statistical Abstract of the United States 1953*, 117.
[339] Southern states topped the list in terms of IV-F classification rates. The highest rates were as follows: Puerto Rico 43.5%, Mississippi 24.1%, Virgin Islands 21.4%, North Carolina 20.9%, Georgia 18.4%, Alabama 18.3%, South Carolina 18.2%, and Louisiana 18.1%. By contrast, the lowest rates were: South Dakota 7.1%, Utah 7.3%, Kansas and Minnesota 7.6%, Wyoming 7.7%, Indiana 7.9%, and New Hampshire 8.2%. Southern states also had higher preinduction exam rejection rates. The highest rates were: Puerto Rico 70.3%, South Carolina 62%, Virgin Islands 56.3%, Mississippi 56%, Alabama 54.8%, Louisiana 54.5%, Arkansas 52.6%, and Georgia 50%. The lowest rates were: Kansas 19.6%, North Dakota 19.7%, Panama Canal Zone 20.5%, Minnesota 20.6%, Utah 21.3%, Iowa 21.2%, South Dakota 22.2% and Nebraska 23.2%. Southern states even accounted for the highest rates of induction exam rejections. *Annual Report of the Director of Selective Service for the Fiscal Year 1953*, 74-75, 84, and 91.
[340] In the middle, 14.3% of Midwesterners and 15.3% of Far Westerners were rejected. Klassen, *Military Service in American Life Since World War II*, 244.
[341] Oklahoma had a rate of 4.29%. *Congressional Record, Appendix*, 86th Congress, 1st sess., 1959, vol. 105, A6153.

Alabama alone of the Southern section ranked among the ten states with the lowest rates of service, not surprising given that as late as the induction exam Selective Service rejected 6.5% of Alabamans.[342] Also, though Southern states did not provide the sheer numbers of men that New York, Pennsylvania, or California produced, a high percentage of Southerners ended up as casualties of the war.[343] Almost 1% of West Virginians in service died in action as did .7% of men from Kentucky.[344] West Virginia, Kentucky, Arkansas, Oklahoma, Virginia, Louisiana, Tennessee, Mississippi, Missouri, and South Carolina all fell into the top twenty of states which suffered the highest percentage of population killed or wounded.[345] And, Southerners supplied much of the leadership for the Korean War as men from the South were more likely to muster in as officers or officer candidates than men from other sections of the country.[346] Memoirs and scholarly studies alike make reference to the Southern flavor of military leadership.[347] Despite entering service at a somewhat slower pace than their Midwestern or Northern counterparts, Southern men did fulfill their duty to country throughout the early 1950s. Unlike the Vietnam

[342] Only 1.94% of Alabama's population served during the Korean War era. Other states with low participation rates were: Delaware (3.14%), New York (3.25%), New Jersey (3.37%), Ohio (3.41%), and Illinois (3.42%). Ibid. By the induction exam, weaker applicants had already been weeded out, but Southern states still had a surprisingly high rate of rejection. With a rate of 9.4%, Arkansas actually surpassed Alabama, as did Louisiana (8%), South Carolina (7.6%), Texas (6.8%), and Oklahoma (6.4%). By way of contrast, Guam's rate was .5% and Nebraska's was 2.8%. *Annual Report of the Director of Selective Service for the Fiscal Year 1953*, 91.

[343] As far as sheer numbers, New York (482,000), Pennsylvania (405,000), and California (379,000) had the most men in uniform. *Congressional Record*, *Appendix*, 86th Congress, 1st sess., 1959, vol. 105, A6153.

[344] West Virginia claimed the honor of being the state with both the highest percentage of its military population killed in action and the highest percentage of its total population killed or wounded during the Korean War. The state with the lowest percentage killed or wounded was Alabama. The states with the most men killed or wounded were New York (8786) and California (9513). *Congressional Record*, *Appendix*, 86th Congress, 1st sess., 1959, vol. 105, A6153 and *Congressional Record*, 86th Congress, 1st sess., 1959, vol. 105, part 11, 13924.

[345] Other states included Arizona, South Dakota, New Mexico, North Dakota, California, Minnesota, Maine, Wyoming, Indiana, and New Hampshire. *Congressional Record*, 86th Congress, 1st sess., 1959, vol. 105, part 11, 13924.

[346] Klassen, *Military Service in American Life Since World War II*, 259.

[347] A 1950 study showed that Army and Navy officers in 1950 overwhelmingly had been born in the South or had a southern affiliation. The same pattern was evident as late as 1964. Wool, "Military Manpower Procurement and Supply" in Little, ed., *Social Research and Military Management*, 68.

War, which ironically would have a distinctly Southern bent, no single section of the country during the Korean Conflict bore a strikingly disproportionate burden in delivering soldiers.

Like men, women came from all over the United States and from as far away as Puerto Rico to join up. Also like their male counterparts, many came from states like California, Pennsylvania, New York, and Illinois.[348] Overwhelmingly, though, female candidates hailed from small towns or cities rather than from sprawling metropolitan areas. In 1952, the Marine Corps determined that only 35% of its female recruits lived in cities of 100,000 or more and the Army, Navy, and Air Force found that fewer than 30% of their enlistees came from cities that size. In all branches of service about another 25% of women called cities of 25-100,000 home, but 35-52% traded farms or small towns or cities for the military life. Except for nurses and medical specialists who came from places large enough to have accredited schools, female recruits tended to come from places with smaller populations.[349] Strangely, this pattern resembles the manpower paradigm of the next war in which rural and small town America provided more military personnel proportionately than central cities or even working class suburbs.[350]

Whether from the West Coast or the East or from somewhere in the middle of the country, many soldiers of Korea had already mustered into the Armed Forces at least once.

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[348] A July 1951 Navy study found that most female Navy recruits came from the general areas of New York (12.2%), Boston (12%), Philadelphia (8%), Pittsburg (7.5%), Chicago (7.2%), Atlanta (7.1%), Los Angeles (6.5%), San Francisco (5.5%), and Detroit (5.5%). The rest hailed from areas around Cincinnati, Dallas, Washington D. C., Kansas City, Minneapolis, Seattle, New Orleans, Denver, and Honolulu. Office of the Assistant Secretary of Defense, Memorandum for the Advertising Council, "Information About Women in the Armed Services," 8 December 1952, 4, Staff Files, Files of the Assistant Relating to the Office of Coordinator of Government Public Service Advertising (James M. Lambie, Jr.), Box 9, DDE Library.

[349] Ibid. Also, "Policy Guide for Women in the Armed Services Information Program, 1953, U. S. Army, U. S. Navy, U. S. Air Force, U. S. Marine Corps," 9 February 1953, 5, Staff Files, Files of the Special Assistant Relating to the Office of Coordinator of Government Public Service Advertising (James M. Lambie, Jr.), Box 9, DDE Library.

[350] In part, lenient agricultural deferments during the Korean War explain why more small town and rural boys did not end up in the military and in Korea. With regard to Vietnam, see Appy, *Working-Class War*, 14.

Especially early in the war when manpower needs reached critical levels, the Armed Forces pulled World War II veterans out of Reserve or Guard units and returned them to active duty. And, leading the return troops were the old salts, sergeants or lieutenants or other officers who had stayed in service after the Second World War, or in some cases the First World War.[351] Eventually, newly minted military men became the face of Korea's Army and Marines, but at war's end 20% of soldiers could claim service in at least two wars.[352] Close to a million men served in both Korea and World War II.[353] But, duty did not always stop in 1953 or 1954. Almost 200,000 of those who had served in both World War II and Korea went on to wear their uniforms for the Vietnam War, as did another 273,000 veterans of Korea alone.[354] For many young men, Korea turned out to be only one of their defining wars.

In the end, the men and women who filled uniforms for the Korean Conflict both resembled World War II's "Greatest Generation" and foreshadowed Vietnam's reluctant one. They came from all parts of the country and most sectors of the economy and they shared the patriotism and willingness to serve of an earlier time. But, increasingly throughout the early 1950s the faces of the troops reflected the shifting demographics of postwar America. Younger, better educated, and more racially diverse than their brothers and sisters of World War II, these new soldiers became a generation of their own and a stepping stone to the Armed Forces of the next war. Not all who mustered into the military, though, would march to the beat of Uncle Sam's drum. First they would have to cross through that age-old rite of passage, basic training.

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[351] James Hamilton Dill, *Sixteen Days at Mungol-li* (Fayetteville, AR: M&M Press, 1993), 402.
[352] Boris R. Spiroff, *Korea: The Frozen Hell on Earth: A Platoon Sergeant's Diary, Korean War 1950-1951* (Baltimore, MD: American Literary Press, Inc., 1998), 9.
[353] President's Commission on Veterans' Pensions, *Readjustment Benefits: General Survey and Appraisal. A Report on Veterans' Benefits in the United States* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1956), 161.
[354] U. S. Department of Veterans Affairs, Assistant Secretary for Planning and Analysis, Office of Program and Data Analyses, *Data on Veterans of the Korean War*, June 2000 (online publication at http://www.va.gov/vetdata/demographics/KW2000.doc), 2.

CHAPTER 3: YOU'RE IN THE ARMY (OR NAVY, MARINES, OR AIR FORCE) NOW!

"Your military career is about to begin. Perhaps you think it has begun already, but you haven't seen anything yet. You're in the Army now."—Major General John M. DeVine to "rawcruits" at Fort Dix Induction Center, 1950.[1]

"I was frightened, homesick, hated the sergeant, and the food was terrible."—Stanley Cohen, Korean War veteran, on his first days in service.[2]

"[Training] is when I learned to smoke cigarettes and drink beer."—William Gilwee, Jr., Korean War veteran.[3]

"Marine boot camp—what else can I say? The Drill Instructors started by scaring the hell out of us, then it got worse."—James Murphy, Korean War veteran.[4]

"…By discipline and modern military technology, young men from farms, urban areas, slums, rural communities, and wealthy suburbs are molded into a group of killers."—Daniel Wolfe, Korean War veteran.[5]

"It is foolhardy to assume that we can undo a lifetime of moral and ethical training in fourteen weeks and actually train men to kill."—Army Intelligence Officer.[6]

The crowds could sometimes be fickle, especially when the buses or trains were only headed toward Boot Camp training grounds and not toward actual combat. Depending on the weather or the number of men and women leaving or the size of the community or whether or not the country happened to be at war, farewell gatherings might be as small as a few loved ones or as large as the whole town. In any case, the new soldiers arrived at the train or bus station with duffle bags in hand, as ready as possible for the upcoming weeks or months that would transform them into "Government Issue." Then the oft repeated ritual began. Anxious mothers and wives tried to keep from crying too hard, sweethearts planted kisses in hopes that they might not be forgotten, fathers gave last minute pieces of advice, and babies squealed while older

[1] Major General John M. DeVine quoted in "New Soldiers for New Tasks," *New York Times*, 23 July 1950, 4.
[2] Stanley J. Cohen, *Korean War Veteran Survey*, 5, Center for the Study of the Korean War, Graceland University, Independence, Missouri (hereafter CFSOKW).
[3] William J. Gilwee, Jr., *Korean War Veteran Survey*, 5, CFSOKW.
[4] James L. Murphy, *Korean War Veteran Survey*, 5, CFSOKW.
[5] Daniel Wolfe, *Cold Ground's Been My Bed: A Korean War Memoir* (New York: iUniverse, Inc., 2005), 24.
[6] An unnamed Army intelligence officer quoted in Seymour Bernstein, *Monsters and Angels: Surviving a Career in Music* (U.S.: Hal Leonard, 2002), 199.

children clambered up and down the safety rails oblivious to the day's portent. Even a few husbands and boyfriends turned out to bid farewell to wives and girlfriends who had either enlisted or been called up from the Reserves.[7] Then, when the order came, these soon-to-be servicemen and servicewomen piled into train cars and bus seats, waving goodbye and blowing barrages of kisses to their friends and families and civilian lives. The men and women who would serve during the Korean War belonged to the military now.[8]

It did not take long to wash down the last bites of a Red Cross doughnut with coffee or to smoke a few of the free cigarettes handed out by the various military service clubs and it did not take long for those headed toward basic training or Boot Camp to realize that they had left much of the familiar behind and that more than miles separated them from home. The train ride alone often proved eye-opening. Young men and women who had been sheltered in America's small enclaves could only wonder at the multitude of vices indulged in by other trainees en route to their training destinations. Still naïve if not just plain green when he left Oklahoma for Camp Pendleton, California, Harold Mulhausen had heard about "goings on," but never really witnessed such an abundance of drinking, gambling, cussing, dirty song singing, and smoking as

[7] Journalists during the Korean War paid special attention to new twists in the old drama of military separation. Newspaper articles described not only the strange situation of women boarding troop trains while their husbands stayed behind, but also the even stranger situation of servicewomen heading in one direction for military training or duty while their husbands went in another direction for the same. With Reserve call-ups of both men and women, National Guard activations, and the draft, a dual military career marriage became not uncommon in the early 1950s. See "Several Hundred Seattle, Everett Men Bid Good-bys to Families," *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, 10 August 1950, 1 and "Boy Friends Cheer Girls Off to War, *New York Times*, 16 September, 1950, 5.

[8] In most cases, the scene at the train or bus station marked a real break between individuals and their communities, but, especially with regard to National Guard troops, this was not always the case. Sometimes goodbye parties refused to say goodbye. After weeks of farewell dinners, picnics, and dances throngs of hometown folks not only turned out to watch the Oklahoma 45th Division's departure for Camp Polk, Louisiana, but to follow them there by car. Over the course of the Thunderbirds' training, everything from girlfriends to furniture traveled the dusty highway between Oklahoma and Louisiana. Permanent farewells had to wait until the division's overseas posting many months later. See William M. Donnelly, *Under Army Orders: The Army National Guard During the Korean War* (College Station, TX: Texas A & M Press, 2001), 35-38. Also see "Furnishings for Day Room? Incidental Now, Says Mother," *Daily Oklahoman*, 25 February 1951, 18A.

when he boarded the troop train.[9] One can only imagine what he might have thought of fellow Marine James Putnam who joined other recruits in drinking and partying even before the train arrived at the station to carry them to Parris Island, South Carolina. Putnam and his cronies became so uncontrollable that the train conductor simply unhooked their cars, leaving them to party outside of Atlanta, Georgia until they all ran out of money and the Marine Corps found and attached them to another east-bound train.[10]

These antics, while entertaining, usually turned out to be only one of many firsts experienced by troops along the well-worn train tracks carrying them toward military life. Many trainees had never traveled far from home before and had never come into close contact with people from other sections of the country. Now they found themselves crammed into close quarters aboard troop trains with people who spoke and looked differently than they did.[11] For Northerners the journey could be especially unsettling. Training centers did exist in the North, but far more were located south of the Mason Dixon line where climate made year round training much more viable.[12] That meant that men and women accustomed to a more integrated world learned firsthand the rules of the segregated South. Years later, Mary Robinson remembered her astonishment at seeing "White Only" sections in Virginia train stations and segregated barracks

[9] Harold L. Mulhausen, *Korean War Veteran Survey*, 4-5, CFSOKW.
[10] James H. Putnam, Memoir, (Korean War Educator), 3.
[11] Many veterans mention hearing new accents for the first time on the way to basic. Ralph Cutro remembers his New York group of Marine recruits being joined by men from Maine, Massachusetts, and Connecticut: "We started to tease each other about our funny strange accents." Ralph Cutro to Melinda Pash, email, 28 February 2006. National Guard and Reserve troops often avoided this aspect of transportation as they tended to come from the same localities and travel together to their final destination.
[12] In August 1950, the Army's basic replacement training centers included Fort Dix, New Jersey; Fort Knox, Kentucky; Fort Jackson, South Carolina; Fort Riley, Kansas; Fort Ord, California; Camp Chaffee, Arkansas; Camp Breckinridge, Kentucky; and Fort Leonard Wood, Missouri. "Army Ready to Open 11 Training Centers," *New York Times*, 17 August 1950, 16. The Marine Corps' basic training locations included Parris Island, South Carolina and San Diego, California. The Navy primarily offered Boot Camp at Great Lakes, Illinois, but moved female recruits to Bainbridge, Maryland in 1951. Jean Ebbert and Marie-Beth Hall, *Crossed Currents: Navy Women from World War I to Tail Hook* (Washington, D.C.: Brassey's, 1993), 129. Most Air Force recruits attended basic training at Lackland Air Force Base in San Antonio, Texas, the only Air Force basic training location at the start of the war. E. W. Kenworthy to Eric Severeid, 24 February 1950, Box "Desegregation of the Armed Forces, Box 1," CFSOKW.

at Fort Eustis: "This was a surprise to me—a kid from the North."[13] For African Americans born and raised in New York or Philly, the introduction to the South went beyond surprising—it was nothing less than traumatic. Despite their military status, blacks in the South were simply black and had to obey the signs dictating where they could drink, eat, use the restroom, enter or exit train or bus stations, and shop for supplies.[14] Even so, these recruits and draftees had entered a world of non-civilians and as time went by trainees accustomed to segregation had adjustments of their own to make. The military not surprisingly shipped and trained men and women separately, but over time all branches of the Armed Forces phased out racial segregation in the training and transport of troops. Executive Order 9981 in 1948 had ordered the integration of the military and by March 18, 1951 all basic training within the United States was integrated.[15] Southern trains might still enforce segregation, but once trainees entered the military reservation they left all guarantees of racial separation behind and almost certainly could look forward to at least some exposure to persons of other colors.[16]

For a few recruits and draftees, the train ride provided the only introduction to military life before reaching Boot Camp or basic training, but many others stopped off at reception

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[13] Mary Robinson, *Korean War Veteran Survey*, 5, CFSOKW.

[14] Segregation also affected Native Americans, Puerto Ricans, and other dark-skinned groups who found themselves subject to local southern laws and practices. See Peter A. Soderbergh, *Women Marines in the Korean War Era* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 1994), 59.

[15] Richard Dalfiume, *Desegregation of the Armed Forces: Fighting on Two Fronts, 1939-1953* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1969), 209.

[16] Many different types of people came into contact with one another for the first time at basic training. Hawaiian veterans recall that Boot Camp first introduced them on a personal basis to "haoles" and blacks from the mainland. Louis Baldovi in Louis Baldovi, ed., *A Foxhole View: Personal Accounts of Hawaii's Korean War Veterans* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2002), 18. Guy Bishop notes that growing up in a white Protestant town of 700 people he had never even met a Catholic before entering the Army. Guy C. Bishop, *Korean War Veteran Survey*, 4-6, CFSOKW. Such encounters were not always as positive as they might have been, however. Marian Nicely recalls that black and white WACs got along well at Ft. Lee, Virginia until they were advised that they could not associate off post and that certain parts of town were off-limits to all African Americans. As a result their friendships then splintered along racial lines. Marian Nicely, *The Ladies First Army* (Ligonier, PA: The Fairfield Street Press, 1989), 17. William Pickett describes his contact with large numbers of African Americans during training as depressing. William A. Pickett, *Korean War Veteran Survey*, 5, CFSOKW. The military setting did not always overcome racial prejudices.

battalions somewhere along the way for a week or two of processing-in.[17] Here, trainees got their first real glimpse of military life. Cadre at these centers greeted them by calling roll—mispronouncing even the simplest of names—and by assigning the bewildered-looking newcomers a variety of tasks and putting them to work right away. Depending upon one's luck or demeanor, they could end up "policing" or cleaning the grounds, standing guard at night, or pitching in on KP or kitchen duty. Additionally, trainees had to attend to numerous other details. Piles of paperwork had to be completed, including medical history forms and the assignment of allotment insurance to wives or parents in case one died while in service to Uncle Sam. Written examinations had to be taken to allow the military to gauge whether or not one needed remedial-type training or to determine an individual's assignment within a particular corps.[18] Physical examinations, including tooth inspections and, in the case of men, "short arm" or genital inspections for venereal disease, had to be endured, complete with vaccinations for those not yet immunized.

More importantly, while at the reception battalions, trainees began the long and painful process of leaving their individuality behind and accepting their place on the lowest rung of the military ladder. Warned before leaving home to pack only the bare essentials—a toothbrush and razor, a pair of underwear or two, and maybe a change of clothes—trainees by both necessity and instruction began to dress alike once they received their uniforms from the quartermaster. Only

[17] Some reception battalions functioned at Boot Camp locations, but it was not uncommon from World War II through the Korean War for trainees to be shipped from home to a processing center and then to basic training. Kenneth McCormick, for example, was inducted at Ft. Omaha and then shipped to Camp Crowder, Missouri for processing before being sent to Schofield Barracks, Hawaii for basic training. Kenneth McCormick, "Memoirs of Ken McCormick," 18-20, included by author with *Korean War Veteran Survey*, CFSOKW.

[18] Prior to 1948, the Army assigned recruits to a specific branch at enlistment and recruits took specialized rather than general basic training. "New Soldiers for New Tasks," *New York Times*, 23 July 1950, 4. By 1955, a program was in place whereby men with less than a fourth grade education or with low scores on the aptitude tests spent 3 to 4 weeks in a transitional unit where they learned basic English, reading, writing, math, citizenship, and simple fundamental military duties before entering basic training. "Training at Fort Dix-II," *New York Times*, 6 July 1955, 12.

the fact that the military required trainees to stencil their names and serial numbers onto everything issued them distinguished one pair of fatigues or boots from another. In addition to dressing alike, all trainees made a mandatory visit to the post barber shop where the barbers invariably asked each customer how they wanted their hair cut. Most men wanted a little off the sides or top or perhaps a nice trim, but all left the chair with the same close, clean, standard issue buzz cut. As Louis Baldovi notes, "In less than a minute I was practically bald."[19] For women, hair was normally cut to the bottom of the jacket collar, shorter hair being discouraged as unfeminine and perhaps a sign of lesbian tendencies.[20] By now, the trainees not only looked alike, they had learned to act alike as well, to conform to the military's demand that they obey orders. John Williams and his tent mates had internalized this lesson so completely that they complied when men came to their tents at three in the morning, ordered them to fall out, fall in, and double-time march for two miles in the cold. Told at the end to wait for the next soldier, Williams and the others didn't move until morning came without anyone else appearing and they realized that they were standing on the road beside their tent.[21] Indeed, even before reaching Boot Camp trainees discovered that military life could be filled with hardship.[22]

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[19] Louis Baldovi in Baldovi, ed., *A Foxhole View*, 18. Also, Shelley Stewart and Nathan Hale Turner, Jr., *The Road South: A Memoir* (U.S.: Warner Books, 2002), 168-169.

[20] Nicely, *The Ladies First Army*, 14. None of the services explicitly forbade women from wearing their hair short, but concerns about homosexuality which began as early as World War II did lead training cadre to keep a close eye on "mannish" or "athletic" women and to interrogate and harass those suspected of lesbianism. Soderbergh, *Women Marines in the Korean War Era*, 61; Mary Ann Humphrey, *My Country, My Right to Serve: Experiences of Gay Men and Women in the Military, World War II to the Present* (New York: Harper Collins Publishers, 1990), 11-20; Allan Berube, *Coming Out Under Fire: The History of Gay Men and Women in World War II* (New York: The Free Press, 1990), 260-265; and Leisa D. Meyer, "Creating G.I. Jane: The Regulation of Sexuality and Sexual Behavior in the Women's' Army Corps During World War II," *Feminist Studies* 18:3 (Autumn 1992), 581-601. Also, Leisa D. Meyer, *Creating GI Jane: Sexuality and Power in the Women's Army Corps* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996), 153-156.

[21] John E. Williams to Melinda Pash, email, 7 May 2004, in author's possession.

[22] Some trainees began trying to escape military service during their processing-in. John Williams describes a man who desperately tried to convince officials he was crazy by pretending to be driving a car wherever he went. John E. Williams to Melinda Pash, email, 7 May 2004. Kenneth Kendall notes that while at Fort Knox, Kentucky for

However educational the trip to basic training turned out to be, though, it still did not prepare most trainees for what awaited them on the other end. Regardless of branch of service, basic training or Boot Camp had one mission—to tear down the civilian and build up an effective member of the military machine.[23] And the clock began ticking the moment that new recruits and draftees stepped foot on the military post. From that point forward it no longer mattered who or what one had been in civilian life—male or female, black or white, rich or poor, educated or unschooled. The only thing that mattered was that trainees learned to be homogenous if not interchangeable parts of their particular armed force, accepting of orders, disciplined, and prepared for whatever duty lay ahead. Still, basic training for those who would serve during the Korean Conflict varied in length and intensity from service to service and sometimes from year to year within the same service.

Army Basic Training

Throughout the Korean War era, no branch of the Armed Forces strained harder to train new recruits and draftees than the Army. Of the 5,720,000 selective service registrants examined from July 1950 to July 1953 who went on to serve in the wartime military, 2,834,000 received their training from the Army. In addition, the Army accepted 1,475,700 or 94% of the era's

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processing-in, 8 recruits committed suicide by jumping off a water tower. Kenneth R. Kendall, Memoir, (Korean War Educator), 4-5.

[23] Almost all literature on basic training emphasizes the primary function of tearing down the individual Boot and refashioning him or her into a soldier. See "Report on Training," December 1955, 35, U. S. President's Commission on Veterans' Pensions (Bradley Commission): Records, 1954-58, A69-22 and 79-6, Box 58, Dwight David Eisenhower Library (Hereafter Bradley Commission and DDE Library); Peter S. Kindsvatter, *American Soldiers: Ground Combat in the World Wars, Korea, and Vietnam* (U. S.: University Press of Kansas, 2003), 27; and James R. Ozinger, *Altruism* (Wesport, CT: Praeger, 1999), 58.

draftees into its ranks.[24] Under the best of circumstances, training so many new soldiers would have posed difficulties, but the situation in 1950 made completing the task frighteningly burdensome. Post-World War II personnel cuts had all but emptied the Army's pockets of qualified basic training instructors, and the immediate deployment of Reserve troops to Korea in the early months of the war intensified that shortage. With few options open, and with stateside trainees and Korean War soldiers and units waiting, the Army simply decided to shorten the basic training cycle so that existing schools and instructors could more quickly churn out overseas replacements and possible training cadre.[25] By August 1950, basic training for men had been reduced from 14 weeks to only 6 weeks to be followed by another 8 weeks of technical or unit training.[26] Even so, the Army continued to hunger for replacements and in October 1950 it shortened WAC basic from 13 to 8 weeks so that more women soldiers would be available to replace men in stateside jobs, freeing them to in turn replace men in Korea.[27] Throughout the war, high ranking officers as well as various members of the press complained that 6 or 8 weeks

[24] Of selective service registrants taking their preinduction exam from July 1950 to July 1953, 1,177,000 served in the Navy, 424,000 in the Marine Corps, and 1,285,000 in the Air Force. The Marine Corps also received 84,447 or 6% of draftees. The Navy and Air Force did not participate in the draft. "Report on Conditions of Military Service, Section 1, Selection Process," 14, (Bradley Commission): Records 1954-58, A 69-22 and 79-6, Box 58, DDE Library.

[25] When deciding to reduce the length of basic training during the Korean War, Army planners no doubt looked back to World War II when manpower shortages had been alleviated by reducing Boot Camp to six weeks. Also, shortening basic training must have seemed an appropriate response to the Senate Preparedness Subcommittee's charges of "inexcusable and indefensible waste" in the "valueless repetition of basic." "Waste in Training Laid to Army Units," New York Times, 26 December 1951, 1.

[26] "Fort Dix Training Shorter, Tougher," *New York Times*, 12 August 1950, 4; Daniel Zimmerman, Images of America: Fort Dix (U.S.: Arcadia, 2001), 8; "Report on Training," December 1955, 36, (Bradley Commission): Records, 1954-58, A69-22 and 79-6, Box 58, DDE Library; and U. S. Department of Commerce, *Historical Statistics of the United States, Volume 2* (Washington, D.C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1975), 101.

[27] Betty J. Morden, *The Women's Army Corps, 1945-1978* (Washington, D.C.: Center of Military History, U. S. Army, 2000), 101.

of basic turned out green troops, but with few exceptions the Army stuck to its guns, producing an astounding number of new soldiers in a very short period of time.[28]

Regardless of when one entered the Army or how long basic training lasted, the experience remained fairly similar for Korean War trainees. Most men and women arrived at the training camp with strangers that they had just met on the train or bus rather than with hometown friends.[29] In the years of peace after World War II, the Army entirely abandoned previous policies of creating geographically-based units to come to basic, train, and then serve together. Instead, trainees from all over the country shipped in to basic training camp, only to be assigned to different units based on individual skills after completion of the course. And, not infrequently these trainees approached training camps for the first time well after dark. Whether official policy or not, the Army took advantage of nighttime arrivals to throw new troops off balance. In fourteen or twelve or even six weeks, the Army hoped to transform these undisciplined civilians

[28] An unidentified high-ranking officer told the *New York Times* that Army trainees needed 14 to 16 weeks of hard basic training and that 8 weeks was not enough. "Need of Training Revealed in Korea," *New York Times*, 3 November 1950, 4. After the war, Colonel F. W. Gibb agreed saying that forces in 1957 were better trained than those during the Korean War because "during an emergency, when you train a large number of people in a short length of time…you actually put more people through, but you do not give them the degree of training that we feel is required." Congress, House of Representatives, Subcommittee of the Committee on Appropriations, *Department of the Army Appropriations for 1957: Hearings*, 84th Congress, 2d session, 1956, 494. In 1953, there was a point at which basic training was lengthened to 12 weeks, but in general training stayed in the 6-8 week range. "Army to Let G.I.'s Pick Buddies to Live and Fight in 4-Man Teams, *New York Times*, 5 July 1953, 1. As late as 1955, training in the Army remained at 8 weeks. "Training at Fort Dix-II," *New York Times*, 6 July 1955, 12.

[29] Even for those who took basic training after World War II there were some exceptions to this. National Guard and Reserve troops, of course, often arrived at Boot Camp as a group. Also, late in the Korean War, in an effort to restore camaraderie within the ranks, a new program was introduced to allow men to train, eat, sleep, and then fight with three buddies of their own choosing. "Army to Let G.I.'s Pick 'Buddies' to Live and Fight in 4-Man Teams," *New York Times*, 5 July 1953, 1. More interestingly, in an effort to increase female enlistment after the start of the Korean War, both the Army and Air Force promised high school coeds and girls' clubs and organizations that as many of them as chose could enlist together and the corps would make sure that they at least went through basic training together. "Armories Sought for Reserves' Use," *New York Times*, 4 December 1950, 20.

into combat-ready infantrymen and the sooner trainees could be mentally torn down, the sooner training cadre could rebuild them as soldiers.[30]

Naturally, given the Army's mission, most recruits and draftees did not find the Army particularly welcoming upon their arrival at basic. Some drill sergeants and training cadre made a point of immediately heaping abuse on men and women fresh from induction centers or reception battalions. Rudolph Stephens remembers that as soon as he got to basic "a big black sergeant started cursing us and calling us foul names."[31] For men like John Kamperschroer, who came from homes where "4 letter words were not used," such language provided a rude introduction to military life.[32] For Stephens, this particular incident "was hard to take because very few of us had even spoken to a black person in our lives." In reality, training cadre usually greeted newcomers somewhat more cordially than this, but trainees still tended to feel a wave of regret upon arriving at basic training. Homesick, frightened, and tired, they "didn't know what to do or why I was there."[33] Before long, though, most realized that they simply had to get used to things because "there wasn't anything any of us could do about it."[34]

No matter what time of the day or night trainees pulled into camp, they soon found their way to the barracks for a first look at their new home. Certainly, Korean War era volunteers and draftees did not expect luxury, but even so they could not help but be disappointed when they

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[30] James C. Shelburne and Kenneth J. Groves, *Education in the Armed Forces* (New York: Center for Applied Research in Education, Inc., 1965), 28-29 and Dave Moniz, "Army Updates Training," www.usatoday.com, posting 5 January 2004.
[31] Rudolph W. Stephens, *Old Ugly Hill: A G.I.'s Fourteen Months in the Korean Trenches, 1952-1953* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland and Company, 1995), 15.
[32] John R. Kamperschroer, *Korean War Veteran Survey*, 5, CFSOKW.
[33] Robert Shields, *Korean War Veteran Survey*, 5, CFSOKW.
[34] Stephens, *Old Ugly Hill*, 15. While stories like Stephens' are prolific, many troops, such as those sent to Schoefield Barracks, Hawaii, had more positive arrival experiences. When Kenneth McCormick arrived at the dock in Hawaii, a Navy friend met him with a hula girl and a photographer to commemorate the occasion. McCormick, "Memoirs of Ken McCormick," 21. Before Charles Brown boarded the Army trucks that would carry him to the base, he enjoyed a big welcome complete with an Army band and native girls who put wreaths of flowers around the newly arrived trainees' necks. Charles L. Brown, Memoirs (Korean War Educator), 4.

saw the buildings that would house them for the better part of two months. In order to accommodate the huge flow of trainees after the outbreak of the war, the Army reopened camps that had been mothballed or simply left to rot after 1945.[35] Troop quarters consisted of "temporary" wooden structures built cheaply to house the soldiers of a different war and they had the appearance of abandoned buildings.[36] Some even had doors or windows missing, and almost all relied upon primitive coal furnaces for heat. At Camp Lee, Virginia, smoke from a local chemical plant permeated everything including the female trainees' uninsulated living quarters.[37] But, "since their flimsy walls and floors had not yet collapsed, and their showers were still functional, they were deemed appropriate to accommodate the recruits for Korea."[38]

Inside the barracks, more surprises awaited the temporary occupants of these temporary shelters. Comfort and privacy had become things of the past. Rows and rows of beds, really just three inch thick mattresses resting on wire springs, ensured cramped, uncomfortable quarters for would-be sleepers.[39] In the bathrooms, common showers ruled the day.[40] Forty or fifty men or women might be expected to rotate through only five or six showers each morning before marching to the mess hall for breakfast. Toilets sat unshielded by stalls and not uncommonly faced the only available sinks. As one veteran recalls, "sometimes, depending on what was

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[35] Merle Wysock describes these conditions at Camp Breckinridge, Kentucky in *Korean War Veteran Survey*, 3, CFSOKW. See also "Training at Fort Dix," *New York Times*, 5 July 1955, 12, which discusses the need for new, permanent barracks even after the end of the Korean War.

[36] This is how Daniel Wolfe describes the accommodations at Indiantown Gap. He goes on to report that in order to earn weekend passes he and the other trainees had to thoroughly clean these old structures. On at least one occasion, the barracks failed inspection and the men paid by spending the weekend on "toilet drill," running back and forth on the command of a whistle from the bunks to the bathroom to raise or lower the toilet seats. Wolfe, *Cold Ground's Been My Bed*, 19 and 27-28. Women describe similar experiences with training barracks. See Nicely, *Ladies First Army*, 11 and Dorothy Rechel, Oral History by Eric Elliott, 22 January 2001, Women Veterans' History Project, Oral History Center, University of North Carolina at Greensboro, 14 (Hereafter WVHP, OHC, UNCG).

[37] Morden, *The Women's Army Corps*, 76-79.

[38] Wolfe, *Cold Ground's Been My Bed*, 28.

[39] *Ibid*., 21 and Rechel, Oral History by Eric Elliott, 22 January 2001, WVHP, OHC, UNCG, 14.

[40] Margie Jacob, *Korean War Veteran Survey*, 5, CFSOKW.

served for dinner, a trio or quartet would be performing for an uninterested audience of handwashers or shavers."[41]

New trainees almost always received some type of orientation from company commanding officers either at the reception battalion or shortly after arriving at Boot Camp.[42] "Your military career is about to begin," these lectures started. "Perhaps you think it has begun already, but you haven't seen anything yet. You're in the Army now."[43] Part pep talk, the speeches went on to detail all the benefits of Army life—free food, clothing, housing, and a steady salary, not to mention status. "Mama will be very proud that her boy is not a mama's boy any longer." But they also informed "rawcruits" that "in return, you are expected to work, and I mean work" and warned that some would never make the grade because "the going is too rugged." Trainees also learned some of the do's and don'ts of Army life, starting with "do not go absent without leave." Some camps even issued information packets with admonitions against going AWOL printed repeatedly throughout.[44]

With introductions out of the way, training began in earnest. Designed to tear down trainees' civilian identities, inculcate them with military customs, and work them into physical fitness, the first couple weeks of basic training made even the toughest men and women question their abilities. Highly regimented, each day typically began before sunrise and sometimes before reveille. Trainees got up, showered, shaved, dressed, and got into formation to march to the

[41] Wolfe, *Cold Ground's Been My Bed*, 25-27.
[42] William E. Anderson, Memoir (Korean War Educator), 2-3 and Donald Chase, Memoir (Korean War Educator), 2.
[43] Major General John M. Devine quoted in "New Soldiers for New Tasks," *New York Times*, 23 July 1950, 4.
[44] Even with all the effort given to ensure that trainees did not flee Boot Camp, some did go AWOL and an even larger number thought about it. At Fort Dix, 90% of trainees complained to chaplains and another 5% consulted psychiatrists during their basic training. "New Soldiers for New Tasks," *New York Times*, 23 July 1950, 4.

mess hall for morning chow.[45] After eating, it was time to either clean the barracks and latrines or head off to training.[46] Rain or shine, every day included not just classroom sessions on subjects like map-reading, achievements and traditions of the Army, and personal hygiene, but also plenty of outdoor field exercises and calisthenics.[47] Occasionally, films on topics like the need for soap and how to use it broke the monotony.[48] By lunch, hungry trainees devoured whatever the cook gave them and then returned to the day's business.[49] After the evening meal, trainees finally had some free time, but even then they had to polish shoes, wash and iron uniforms, and "police" their living quarters. If they finished their chores quickly enough, they might slip down to the service club for a game of ping pong, a snack or beer, some live entertainment or even a dance if women had been brought in by a local social group.[50] Lights out came around 2100 hours or 9 p.m., not a minute too soon for most of the exhausted trainees, but training cadre not infrequently awakened them in the middle of the night to inspect footlockers or wooden floors.[51] Around the clock, strict instructors demanded perfection from the hapless trainees who could not help but feel that "even by trying to do right, one could be

[45] Harold Selley, Memoir (Korean War Educator), 2-3. Some trainees refused to shower daily with the result that the entire barracks failed inspection. In such cases, trainees were not above administering a "GI shower," painfully scrubbing the offender with stiff brushes to remind him to stay clean and not make the group fail inspection again. William E. Anderson, Memoir (Korean War Educator), 4.
[46] Nicely, *Ladies First Army*, 12-13.
[47] Donald Chase, Memoir (Korean War Educator), 2; LeRoy Eaton, Memoir (Korean War Educator), 3-4; Robert Fernandez in Baldovi, ed., *A Foxhole View*, 184; and Nicely, *Ladies First Army*, 14. Interestingly, in the post-World War II years, the Army also began to tackle the topic of homosexuality during basic training. Reversing earlier policies of remaining silent on the issue in an attempt to prevent soldiers from perhaps becoming interested in homosexuality, the Army and other branches of the Armed Forces started explicitly lecturing against homosexuality and encouraging soldiers to turn in anyone they suspected of being gay. Berube, *Coming Out Under Fire*, 263.
[48] Wolfe, *Cold Ground's Been My Bed*, 24-25.
[49] Kenneth R. Kendall, Memoir (Korean War Educator), 6.
[50] Bernstein, *Monsters and Angels*, 201. Despite no small amount of griping, soldiers in some locales could not drink alcohol. The New Jersey liquor law required men to be age 21 or older and as a result a great number of Fort Dix soldiers had to limit their good times to root beer. "New Soldiers for New Tasks," *New York Times*, 23 July 1950, 4.
[51] Harold Selley, Memoir (Korean War Educator), 2.

humbled quickly and unfairly."[52] Luckily, most trainees adjusted fairly swiftly to military life as they were either too busy following orders to think about it or too tired to give any thought to whether or not they were happy.[53]

In between inspections and physical conditioning, the Army imparted a number of fundamental skills to trainees in the first few weeks of basic training. These largely undisciplined troops learned to obey orders and conduct themselves with a military bearing. Men and women who had come to camp slouching and dragging their feet, became accustomed to standing up straight, lining up in an organized manner, and marching on demand, sometimes for miles. Through drills and classroom instruction they learned to find their way with only a compass, read maps, properly attach gas masks, sanitize living quarters, employ appropriate military jargon, and, in some cases, distinguish their left hand from their right.[54] Trainees also became familiar with the most important tool of their new trade—the M-1 rifle. No one would have the opportunity to actually fire this weapon until at least the third week of basic training, but by then all trainees would be proficient in disassembling, cleaning, and assembling it. Without exception, drill instructors and training cadre emphasized the M-1's centrality to battleground survival and told their trainees to "make it your friend, take it apart, oil it, keep it clean, and take it to bed with you."[55]

By the beginning of the third week, recruits and draftees were on their way to physical fitness and it was time for the real work to begin. Having beaten trainees into submission, drill instructors and cadre now started to build soldiers. Some trainees got the chance to participate in

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[52] Robert Popenhagen, *Korean War Veteran Survey*, 5, CFSOKW.
[53] Nicely, *Ladies First Army*, 13.
[54] Frank Faculjak remembers that he turned left instead of right in a marching drill so the drill instructor issued him a stone to be carried at all times in his right pocket to be shown on demand. Frank J. Faculjak, *Korean War Veteran Survey*, 5, CFSOKW.
[55] Bernstein, *Monsters and Angels*, 193.

"confidence courses" to boost their self-esteem. Daniel Wolfe describes how his unit marched three miles before beginning just such a course where the men had to hop from tire to tire, crawl through puddles under barbed wire fences, hurdle a twelve foot wooden wall, and cross a stream. After ten minutes rest, the men then embarked on a hike through the mountains that kept them out until almost two in the morning.[56] Tired or not, trainees still had duties, like KP or standing watch as fireguard, to attend to and they still had to get up early the next day ready to process all of the information that the Army deemed crucial to their survival. Specialists taught trainees elementary first aid, the art of camouflage and concealment, the proper way to construct field fortifications and dig foxholes, and how to effectively wield a bayonet.[57] Under supervision—or more accurately under scrutiny—trainees practiced hand to hand combat, obstacle courses, and foxhole drills where tanks rumbled right above their heads.[58]

After the first few months of the Korean War, the Army also added more realistic maneuvers to its basic training line up. In general, the Army had done little to update training methods or technology since the Second World War and had become quite complacent in the belief that no reason existed for tough, realistic training.[59] When North Korean forces almost pushed American troops off the peninsula, however, the Army recognized that it had to better

[56] Wolfe, *Cold Ground's Been My Bed*, 37-41.
[57] Shelburne and Groves, *Education in the Armed Forces*, 29; "New Soldiers for New Tasks," *New York Times*, 23 July 1950, 4; and Bernstein, *Monsters and Angels*, 198-200.
[58] "Fort Dix Training Shorter, Tougher," *New York Times*, 12 August 1950, 4 and Wolfe, *Cold Ground's Been My Bed*, 53.
[59] Kelly C. Jordan, "Right For the Wrong Reasons: S. L. A. Marshall and the Ratio of Fire in Korea," *Journal of Military History* 66:1 (2002), 147 and James H. Toner, "American Society and the American Way of War: Korea and Beyond," *Parameters* 11:1 (1981), 80. During World War II, the Army tried to reduce the gap between training and combat, but ended many of these efforts after the war. John T. Collier, "Military Training—World War II and Korea," *Army Information Digest* 8 (May 1953), 26.

prepare its soldiers for the task of fighting.[60] As a result, basic training personnel began to develop infiltration and other exercises to familiarize and inure trainees to the sights, sounds, and smells of real battle.[61] At Fort Dix, cadre treated trainees to a course where they crawled under barbed wire obstacles dragging their M-1 rifles as buried explosive charges detonated around them and live machine gun bullets "whizzed inches above our heads."[62] Then, officers examined the rifles for dirt and anyone unfortunate enough to have emerged with a less than clean M-1 had the pleasure of repeating the ordeal. At the end, drill sergeants gave the order to fix bayonets and charge dummies that had been strung up in the trees. Seymour Bernstein remembers that one of his officers marked the occasion by shouting, "Scream, damn you! Scream as you go in for the kill! That's how you scare the hell out of the enemy!"[63] By 1952, Fort Dix had also added a maneuver taken straight from the hills of Korea. In their last week of basic training, soldiers charged "Ridge 102," using live ammunition.[64] Similarly in an exercise described by one veteran as a "son of a bitch," the Hawaii Training Center had trainees jog uphill behind tanks for almost a mile only to be assaulted with live ammunition at the base of Hill 904.[65] Such simulated battle conditions were thought by more than a few to be worse than those in the Korean war zone.

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[60] Toner, "American Society and the American Way of War," 83; "Army Going Back to Tough Training," *New York Times*, 15 August 1954, 45; "Rougher Training Planned by Army," *New York Times*, 21 August 1950, 11; and "Need for Training Revealed in Korea," *New York Times*, 3 November 1950, 4.
[61] Collier, "Military Training," 26.
[62] Bernstein, *Monsters and Angels*, 195-197 and "Fort Dix Training Shorter, Tougher," *New York Times*, 12 August 1950, 4.
[63] *Ibid*., 196.
[64] "4 Month Soldiers Stand Under Fire," *New York Times*, 5 February 1952, 25.
[65] William Abreu in Baldovi, *A Foxhole View*, 193.

Whatever else trainees did while at basic training, they spent the majority of their time after the first two weeks learning to use the Army's stockpile of weapons.[66] The M-1 remained the primary focus, and in eight weeks each trainee fired some 502 rounds in an effort to achieve reasonable accuracy.[67] Cadre also introduced trainees to a host of other devices being used in Korea such as M-30s, browning automatic rifles (BARs), 60 mm mortars, .30 caliber air-cooled machine guns, bazookas, .45 caliber pistols, 37 mm recoilless rifles, and all types of grenades.[68] Not surprisingly, accidents could and did happen. At Fort Hood, a private gunned down a lieutenant saying he "would do anything to get out of the army" and at Fort Dix a corporal narrowly saved the day when a trainee froze after unlocking a grenade.[69] Private Charles Burrows died not long after his arrival at Camp Stoneman, California when someone accidentally shot him.[70] Such incidents coupled with the amount of time spent firing different weapons prompted many trainees to conclude that the entire object of basic training was to teach them to "forget thinking and learn to kill."[71] Like Rudolph Stephens, they believed that they "learned the same thing over and over again, and that was how to kill, kill, kill. That's all you heard day in and day out, how to kill someone."[72] True or not, if trainees managed to internalize

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[66] One newspaper article claimed that recruits at Fort Dix spent three times as much time learning how to fire various weapons as on anything else in the program. "New Soldiers for New Tasks," *New York Times*, 23 July 1950, 4. Women trainees did learn how to disassemble, clean, and reassemble the M-1, but in general their weapons training was somewhat abbreviated. Also, while women had the opportunity to go to the range and actually fire their weapons, this was usually on a voluntary basis. Similarly, women were rarely exposed to the type of realistic battle conditions that men had to suffer through. In some cases, women didn't even have to participate in bivouacs. Nicely, *Ladies First Army*, 14.

[67] *Ibid*. and "Training at Fort Dix-II," *New York Times*, 6 July 1955, 12.

[68] Robert Fernandez in Baldovi, ed., *A Foxhole View*, 184-188; Wolfe, *Cold Ground's Been My Bed*, 47-50; Bernstein, Monsters and Angels, 193; Charles L. Brown, Memoir (Korean War Educator), 5; and "Fort Dix Training Shorter, Tougher," *New York Times*, 12 August 1950, 4.

[69] "GI 'Very Sorry' He Slew Buddy on Maneuvers," *Daily Oklahoman*, 7 April 1952, 2 and Bernstein, *Monsters and Angels*, 200.

[70] "War's Grief Besets Couple in Everett," *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, 19 August 1950, 1.

[71] Jim Whittaker, *A Life on the Edge: Memoirs of Everest and Beyond* (Seattle, WA: The Mountaineers, 1999), 56.

[72] Rudolph Stephens, *Old Ugly Hill*, 20. James Draught notes along similar lines, "We learned a simple skill, how to make war and how to murder and how to hate and how to obey orders no matter what." Quoted in Philip K. Jason

the willingness to take another life, then they had in fact made the transition from citizen to combat soldier that the Army desired.[73]

For both men and women, basic training ended the same way, in a long bivouac designed to expose them to everything that they might encounter on a real battlefield.[74] Just as they would have to do if sent to war, trainees left the security of their barracks and marched or jogged ten or twenty miles weighted down with full packs, heavy tent equipment, M-1 rifles, and the disassembled parts of various other weapons. Ambulances tagged along behind to pick up men who fainted from exhaustion, but otherwise no one could expect to hitch a ride on a truck.[75] As one Korean War veteran told William Abreu, "In Korea there might not be trucks. It may rain all day, snow all day, and sweat may be running down your ass all day."[76] After setting up camp, trainees engaged in a number of different activities. Some cadre continued weapons training.[77] Others conducted more grueling exercises such as dumping trainees out miles from their new camp, handing them a compass, a map, and a book of matches and expecting them to find their way back alone.[78] Usually, trainees participated in some sort of a mock battle. They assaulted

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and W. D. Ehrhart, eds., *Retrieving Bones: Stories and Poems of the Korean War* (Piscataway, NJ: Rutgers Press, 1999), 147. For a sociological assessment of this aspect of basic training, see David P. Barash and Charles P. Webel, *Peace and Conflict Studies* (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 2002), 139-40.

[73] Some authors argue that the entire military organization, including training, revolves around the "people-killing business." For an example, see Albert D. Biderman, "What is Military?" in Sol Tax, ed., *The Draft: A Handbook of Facts and Alternatives* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1967). 123.

[74] Depending on the length of the training cycle, bivouacs could last one week or two. Bernstein, *Monsters and Angels*, 195. Also see Phyllis Perk, *Korean War Veteran Survey*, 5, CFSOKW.

[75] Bernstein, *Monsters and Angels*, 195. Sometimes, women were driven to the bivouac site and occasionally they were excused from it because the weather turned foul.

[76] William Abreu, quoted in Baldovi, ed., *A Foxhole View*, 192.

[77] For an example, see Wolfe, *Cold Ground's Been My Bed*, 56-59. Wolfe's unit was supposed to learn the .45 caliber pistol while camping, but the temperature was so cold that the pistol froze to the instructor's hand and he had to be rushed to an aid station.

[78] Sometimes these exercises proved excruciating for troops. Seymour Bernstein remembers that he had become so exhausted at Boot Camp that he slept through the compass lecture. Consequently, he became completely lost when dumped out and expected to find his way to back to camp in sub zero weather. Fortunately, a corporal had been stationed to pick up stragglers and Bernstein got escorted back. Such incompetence might have proved fatal in a real war. Bernstein, *Monsters and Angels*, 199-200.

hills, tried to infiltrate enemy lines, and dug foxholes. No matter how well individuals or units did, instructors quickly pointed out that "this was a piece of cake compared to what you'll find in Korea."[79]

For men who graduated basic training after the first few months of the Korean War, such warnings had great resonance.[80] Army policy in previous years had been to assign new soldiers either to advanced training or stateside duty stations before shipping them abroad. As late as July 1950, the Army sought enlistments by promising "no present plan" to "use the recruits overseas."[81] However, manpower shortages in Korea increasingly pressured the Army to send men fresh from basic training to the war zone as individual replacements and by September 1950 the press and others began accusing the Army of using green troops in the Korean theater. Army spokesman, not surprisingly, denied these charges, but admitted that soldiers with at least fourteen weeks of individual and unit basic training could be sent.[82] Just over a year later and deeper into the war, the Army officially revised its system, allowing men entering service for the first time to be sent overseas directly after basic training, which by this time had been shortened to produce more soldiers in fewer weeks.[83] The FECOM assignment became so common for new basic training graduates that in some cases the Army simply mimeographed the order and

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[79] William Abreu, quoted in Baldovi, ed., *A Foxhole View*, 193.

[80] While WACs had the opportunity at basic training to develop weapons skills and prepare for combat roles, they seldom received any assignments requiring them to use this type of training. Aside from about two hundred nurses who ended up in Korea attached to Mobile Army Surgical Hospitals, WACs served their tours of duty stateside or in foreign non-combat zones like Germany.

[81] "Draftee Duty Set," *New York Times*, 13 July 1950, 1. The article went on to report that Army spokesmen admitted that some recruits might be sent over later, but that the number would not be large, "nor will that happen soon."

[82] "Army Denies Use of Green Troops," *New York Times*, 10 September, 1950, 6.

[83] Men already in service could go overseas after one year in a non-combat job in the United States. Previously, lieutenants and captains got three years between overseas assignments. "Army Duty in U.S. Cut," *New York Times*, 20 November 1951, 20.

passed out copies when men returned from their final bivouac.[84] Some trainees did manage to enter advanced training programs or officer candidate schools after their six or eight weeks of basic, but for many more basic training provided the only training they would receive before departing for Korea as "qualified killers."[85]

Both during and after the war, questions about the adequacy and effectiveness of the Army's basic training in preparing soldiers for battle surfaced. In 1950, one high ranking officer complained about the "creampuff army," declaring "we've got to teach 'em how to fight, get rid of the non-essentials and get down to tough, hard bed-rock training."[86] He went on to say that basic training needed to be longer, at least fourteen to sixteen weeks, and that training needed to include more night training, reconnaissance on foot, and guerilla warfare tactics. A colonel in Korea told reporter Marguerite Higgins that soldiers had been "nursed and coddled, told to drive safely, to buy war bonds, to avoid VD, to write a letter home to mother, when somebody ought to have been telling them how to clear a machine gun when it jams." He reminded Higgins of the human consequences of making men "learn in combat, in a matter of days, the basic things they should have known before they ever faced an enemy." They became casualties because "some of them don't learn fast enough."[87] After the war, an Army panel found that the Army could have fought better in Korea and lamented that "the Chinese were tough…they knew how to endure…[while] we had to have three squares a day—and two of them had to be hot or junior

[84] Wolfe, *Cold Ground's Been My Bed*, 59.
[85] Only about 27% of Korean War era Army troops received some sort of specialized training after basic training. While this figure compares favorably with World War I and the post-Korean War period when only 18% and 16.8% of troops respectively received such training, it lags behind the 28.4% of World War II. "Report on Training," December 1955, Tab C, (Bradley Commission): Records, 1954-58, A69-22 and 79-6, Box 58, DDE Library. Bernstein, *Monsters and Angels*, 199. In between basic training and Korea, most men received a couple of weeks of leave to visit home before shipping out. John William "Bill" Dallas, Memoir, (Korean War Educator), 2 and Carl Nussmeyer, Memoir, (Korean War Educator), 1.
[86] Quoted in "Need of Training Revealed in Korea," *New York Times*, 3 November 1950, 4.
[87] Marguerite Higgins, *War in Korea: The Report of a Woman Combat Correspondent* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1951), 221.

would write his congressman or his mother." One of the officers declared, "We are training for survival and the sooner everybody understands that, the better." Mostly composed of Korean War veterans, the panel recommended major overhauls in Army training, starting with stricter discipline, off-post saluting, and a merit-based ranking system.[88] General Walter Beddell Smith, appearing before a subcommittee of the Committee on Armed Services, acknowledged that men with only a few months training saw action in both World War II and Korea, but asserted "it would be criminal if we did it again." Smith believed that twelve months training of soldiers would be best, but that "6 months represents an irreducible minimum."[89] As prisoners of war began returning in the wake of "brainwashing" allegations, Army officers and psychiatrists in part targeted the training which had failed to inculcate the kind of devotion to God and country that would fortify soldiers during such an ordeal. The Army had been too solicitous of its trainees' welfare, such critics charged, leaving soldiers undisciplined and ignorant of American democracy.[90] Many Americans simply believed that the Army had not provided tough enough training to its recruits and draftees and as a result had not produced men mentally and physically conditioned to fight.[91]

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[88] "Army Going Back to Tough Training," *New York Times*, 15 August 1954, 45.

[89] General Walter Beddell Smith in Congress, *National Reserve Plan [No. 11]: Hearings Before Subcommittee No. 1 of the Committee on Armed Services*, 84th Cong., 1st sess., February-March 1955, 1549-1551. Not all Army officers agreed with Smith. In a later appropriations hearing, Colonel F. W. Gibb admitted men could not be trained as thoroughly in a shortened basic training and that certain items had to be left out entirely, but offered that soldiers could be taught to perform their duties sufficiently in fewer weeks when the need arose. Congress, House, *Department of the Army Appropriations for 1957: Hearings Before the Subcommittee of the Committee on Appropriations*, House of Representatives, 84th Cong., 2d sess., 1956, 494. For its part, the American public overwhelmingly believed that soldiers should have at least 6 months of training before being sent overseas. George Gallup, Jr., *The Gallup Poll: Public Opinion 1935-1971* (New York: Random House, 1972), 971.

[90] Lew H. Carlson, *Remembered Prisoners of a Forgotten War: An Oral History of Korean War POWs* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2000), 8 and General Upham in Congress, House of Representatives, *Department of the Army Appropriations for 1957: Hearings before the Subcommittee of the Committee on Appropriations*, 84th Cong., 2d sess., 1956, 437.

[91] "Army Going Back to Tough Training," *New York Times*, 15 August 1954, 45. In his memoirs, General Mark Clark pointed out that no matter how stringent military training, it could never completely erase the lessons learned from civilian life. He remembered writing to a woman who had asked him to make a man of her son that "I was

The troops themselves often agreed that their military schooling had holes in it larger than those made by their M-1 bullets. Exhausted, they missed out on lectures that could "spell the difference between life and death" in Korea and, while reaching a certain comfort level with the Army's weapons, few became marksmen in so short a time.[92] Sometimes men earned proficiency ratings on equipment that they could barely use. On the day of his tank driver's test, Vince Krepps could not get the tank out of first gear and simply ambled around aimlessly until the instructor asked a soldier sitting next to him how he had done. "Great," was the reply and Krepps passed the exam.[93] In more than a few cases, men found themselves on a Korea-bound troopship trying to make up for what they had not learned at basic training. Walter Ogasawara found out after sailing that he would become the gunner of a 57 mm recoilless rifle team. "I knew shit about firing a 57 mm recoilless rifle." So, while en route, he simulated firing it without ammunition. Similarly, Pedro Behasa worked on getting used to the 60 mm mortar while aboard ship, but he at least received eight rounds of ammunition for "live" practice.[94] No wonder, then, that a great many of those ordered to Korea felt like Merle Wysock, that "I really wasn't ready to be an infantryman even after…basic training."[95]

For men who entered service before the outbreak of the Korean Conflict, another factor hindered the effectiveness of their basic training—the fact that they had completed it months or

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sure his military service would help him, but that she should realize that we would have him for eighteen months and she had had him for eighteen years." Mark W. Clark, *From the Danube to the Yalu* (NY: Harper, 1954), 192-3. For further discussion on the difficulty of transforming civilians into soldiers and the impact of civilian life on military training, see James H. Toner, "American Society and the American Way of War," 79-90 and Bernstein, *Monsters and Angels*, 199.

[92] Bernstein, *Monsters and Angels*, 199 and Wolfe, *Cold Ground's Been My Bed*, 50.

[93] Kevin Cowherd, "One Came Home—Still Haunted by Missing Twin," *Baltimore Sun*, 22 March 1998, 3 (reprinted at United States of America Commemoration Site—www.Korea50.army.mil/media/interviews/krepps/shtml). It was not clear from the article if Krepps took this test at basic or advanced training, but many veterans report the same experience of receiving proficiency ratings without really achieving proficiency.

[94] Walter Ogasawara and Pedro Behasa quoted in Baldovi, ed., *A Foxhole View*, 28.

[95] Merle Wysock, *Korean War Veteran Survey*, 4, CFSOKW.

even years earlier. Lured into the military by recruitment posters that emphasized the benefits of military life, these troops joined an Army that in the post-World War II 1940s seemed to have forgotten that the principal business of soldiers remained to fight and if need be to die.[96] Convinced of the supremacy of nuclear weapons, the Army in these years used basic training to apply a thin layer of military socialization before ordering men to their first assignments.[97] Unfortunately, this system allowed men to learn a particular specialty without really internalizing how to be a soldier. Consequently, when hostilities began in Korea, Army cooks, lifeguards, drivers, teletype officers, and clerks suddenly found themselves headed to the battle zone as riflemen and infantrymen, jobs for which they had never received adequate preparation.[98] Such was the experience of Milton Griffey, operator of a quartermaster laundry in Japan in 1950. Ordered to the Pusan Perimeter, Griffey on arrival asked where to find his laundry. To Griffey's horror, he received an M-1 rifle and the news that "You are an Infantry soldier. No laundry duty here!"[99] Griffey made a fast transition and performed well, but others proved less lucky. Men died, went home wounded, and even became prisoners of war because their training had been either incomplete or too long before the war to remember. Also, longtime soldiers often carried

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[96] Roy Appleman in James H. Toner, "American Society and the American Way of War: Korea and Beyond," *Parameters* 11:1 (1981), 81. Also, T. R. Fehrenbach, *This Kind of War: A Study in Unpreparedness* (New York: Macmillan, 1963), 100.

[97] Only after 1948 did all recruits and draftees take the same basic training. Before that time, the Army sent men to the branch in which they would serve for Boot Camp. "New Soldiers for New Tasks," *New York Times*, 23 July 1950, 4. As early as 1949, the Army, realizing the poor state of many of its troops, did begin a new training initiative aimed at establishing combat-readiness, but the Korean War came before it could be completed. Some scholars have argued, though, that this new initiative did get the Eighth Army in shape before Korea. Thomas E. Hanson, "The Eighth Army's Combat Readiness before Korea: A New Appraisal," *Armed Forces and Society* 29:2 (Winter 2003), 167-184.

[98] Terry Addison, *The Battle for Pusan: A Korean War Memoir* (Novato, CA: Presidio, 2000), 1. Addison himself, sworn into the military on the basis of a graduate degree and having no military training or active duty service since ROTC in 1948, shipped out to Japan immediately after swearing in. Also, Susumu Shinagawa in Baldovi, ed., *A Foxhole View*, 4-5; "Waste in Training Laid to Army Units," *New York Times*, 26 December 1951, 1; and "New Soldiers for New Tasks," *New York Times*, 23 July 1950, 4.

[99] David K. Holland in Donald M. Buchwald, ed., *Tales from the Cold War: The 13th Armored Infantry Battalion on Freedom's Frontier* (Victoria, Canada: Trafford Publishing, 2004), 116.

the additional weight of physical unfitness. Speaking of the Occupation forces sent to Korea in the early days of the war, one sergeant remarked, "Some of them are so goddam fat they can't hardly walk around. Most of them haven't had to put their pants on for years; always had a couple of geisha girls to do that for 'em."[100] Some, in fact, went to war so out of shape that when enemy forces broke the lines they just sat down and waited to be captured.[101]

Still, while Army basic training had some grave limitations, it did prepare most men well enough that they survived their wartime tours of duty. Not every skill of soldiering could be imparted in a matter of weeks, but even the softest recruits and inductees who completed the course left it strengthened physically, conditioned to obey orders and perform duties despite fear, and more confident in themselves and their superiors. The sleepless conditions at basic became tutorials for battle where exhausted men had no choice but to work and fight through days, nights, or even weeks.[102] Films and classes on hygiene translated into fewer deaths from disease and infection than in previous wars.[103] Hours and days spent at the firing range encouraged the bulk of the Army's trainees to shoot their weapons even if they did not feel totally comfortable with the idea of killing. The ratio of fire, or the percent of men firing their weapons in battle, increased significantly in the Korean War from World War II.[104] Especially after combat veterans returned from Korea to become instructors, basic training became more informative, more relevant to the war at hand and trainees increasingly felt "physically and mentally

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[100] Quoted in Toner, "American Society and the American Way of War," 80.
[101] Arthur L. Kelly, interview by Russell Harris, 16 December 1993, Kentuckiana Digital Library (http://kdl.dyvl.org), 9. See also Clarence Young in Baldovi, ed., *A Foxhole View*, 8-9 for the physical state of soldiers.
[102] Robert Fernandez in Baldovi, ed., *A Foxhole View*, 181.
[103] "Mortality and Combat Service," 2, (Bradley Commission): Records 1954-58, A 69-72 and 79-6, Box 61, DDE Library. The deaths per 1000 men due to disease in the Korean War was only 1.0, the same as World War II, but far less than in the Spanish American War (29.5) and World War I (17.0).
[104] Barash and Webel, *Peace and Conflict Studies*, 139 and Jordan, "Right for the Wrong Reasons," 137.

conditioned to fight."[105] Pointing out that many of the Army's trainees had been born into the Great Depression and grew up during World War II in distraught homes with absent fathers, one officer claimed that the Army provided men with discipline and something more—a newfound pride in themselves.[106] A few even developed a life-long admiration for the way the Army could "train young soldiers to do things they had not previous talents for…in short periods of time."[107] Observers from the press duly noted that Army basic training had taken clerks, factory hands, and schoolboys and given them the "weathered look of well-trained troops."[108] By December 1951, the Senate Preparedness Committee concurred, pronouncing Army training satisfactory.[109] In the final analysis, Army basic training in the Korean War period had both strengths and weaknesses, but drill instructors and cadre usually did the job they were called to do—they provided trainees with an introduction to warfare. And, then, as now, the Old Salts rested easy with the knowledge that the Army could teach men to march and give them the fundamental skills of soldiering, but that no amount of training or time could prepare soldiers for combat like combat itself.

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[105] William A. Pickett, *Korean War Veteran Survey*, 5, CFSOKW. Also, Robert Fernandez in Baldovi, ed., *A Foxhole View*, 181 and "Waste in Training Laid to Army Units," *New York Times*, 26 December 1951, 1. The Army assigned returning combat soldiers from Korea to basic training camps and other schools for this very purpose. Not only did Korean veterans provide valuable insight into the current war, but they also helped to alleviate the earlier shortage of qualified trainers. "Report on Training," December 1955, 39, (Bradley Commission): Records, 1954-58, A69-22 and 79-6, Box 58, DDE Library.
[106] "New Soldiers for New Tasks," *New York Times,* 23 July 1950, 4.
[107] Urban Rump, email to Melinda Pash, 9 June 2004, in author's possession.
[108] "4 Month Soldiers Stand Under Fire," *New York Times*, 28 February 1952, 25.
[109] "Waste in Training Laid to Army Units," *New York Times*, 26 December 1951, 1.

Marine Boot Camp

"Sand Fleas," "Shit Birds," Boot Camp "POWs," you could call them anything but Marines.[110] Recruits and inductees in the Korean War era could not be Marines, could not even wear the Corps' emblem until successfully completing Boot Camp.[111] Like the Army, the Marine Corps in the early 1950s had an obligation to train and produce combat-ready infantrymen in as short a time as possible, but the Marine Corps stood unparalleled among the Armed Forces in instilling esprit de corps in those who would join its ranks. Unlike Army trainees who could end up at any one of many basic training centers, all with their own strengths and specialties, all regular Marines passed through either Parris Island or the San Diego Recruit Depot, Boot Camps dedicated to only one thing, the building of Marines.

More challenging than the basic training offered by other branches of the military, Marine Corps basic began almost the moment that trainees boarded the camp-bound shuttle. If enlistees or draftees had entertained any notions that Boot Camp would not be as bad as the stories they had heard, the desolate landscape along the way must have given them pause. Except for a few loblolly pines and a red cedar or two, Parris Island, tucked away in the sandy part of South Carolina, supported virtually no grass or shrubbery and in the hot, sultry summer months the unshaded heat beat down on buses, buildings, and people relentlessly.[112] San Diego,

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[110] Marine boots were called "Sand Fleas" because Parris Island, one of only two Marine Corps Boot Camps, sat atop a sandy flatland in South Carolina. Marines who went through Parris Island often note in their memoirs that while drilling sand fleas would come out of the sand and bite their legs. Gene Dixon, Memoir, (Korean War Educator), 5-6; Donald Joseph Loraine, Memoir, (Korean War Educator), 3-4; and Robert B. Campbell, Memoir, (Korean War Educator), 2.

[111] The Marine Corps did accept draftees in the Korean War era, though in far fewer numbers than the Army. All told, the Marines received 84,447 or 6% of draftees. "Report on Conditions of Military Service, Section 1, Selection Process," 14, (Bradley Commission): Records 1954-58, A 69-22 and 79-6, Box 58, DDE Library.

[112] For descriptions of Parris Island, see Robert B. Campbell, Memoir, (Korean War Educator), 2 and Daniel DaCruz, *Boot* (New York: St. Martin's, 1987), 54.

of course, appeared less foreboding, but even there entering trainees would have been hard-pressed to not realize the camp's utter isolation from civilian life.

At the end of the line, things only got bleaker. Instead of providing reception battalions or a slow, easy in-processing phase, the Marine Corps immediately began to tear down and discipline trainees. Mean-tempered sergeants boarded the buses cursing and shouting at their new charges, ready to enforce all the rules and make it clear that "our souls belonged to God, but our butts belonged to the United States Marine Corps."[113] Huston Wheelock recalls that on his arrival at the San Diego Recruit Depot, three guys lit up cigarettes in front of a "no smoking" sign. The Marine cadre threw "them up against the wall and beat the hell out of them right there."[114] Anyone still unconvinced that the Marine Corps meant business had a very long eight to fourteen weeks ahead of them.[115]

Marine Boot Camp followed the same general format as Army basic training and instilled many of the same skills. Just as in the Army, newcomers repeated such mundane tasks as policing the barracks and making the bunks while cadre interminably found fault with their efforts. Physical drills, calisthenics, long marches, and bivouacs trimmed down the overweight and built up the skinny and scrawny. The undisciplined learned, often through hard knocks, to stand at attention, to address everyone over the rank of private first class as "sir," and to obey orders unquestioningly. Educational films and lectures informed trainees about the ravages of

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[113] Ralph Cutro, *Korean War Veteran Survey*, 5, CFSOKW. Also, Robert B. Campbell, Memoir, (Korean War Educator), 2 and Donald Joseph Loraine, Memoir, (Korean War Educator), 3.

[114] Huston Wheelock in Dawn Scher Thomae, "Wisconsin Warriors: Interviews with Native American Veterans," *LORE* 43:3 (September 1993), 5.

[115] Like Army basic training, Marine Boot Camp varied in length from World War II to the end of the Korean War, but in general lasted longer than the basic training of the other branches of the military. Boot Camp for males lasted at least 8 weeks and as long as 14 weeks throughout the Korean War era. By 1965, the Marine Corps set Boot Camp at 16 weeks. Shelburne and Groves, *Education in the Armed Forces*, 28. Women reservists and enlistees, however, did attend abbreviated Boot Camps, lasting only 6 weeks, before going to their posts. "Boy Friends Cheer Girls Off to War," *New York Times*, 16 September 1950, 5 and "Women Volunteers Asked," *New York Times*, 26 August 1950, 3.

venereal disease, the proper way to treat minor wounds, and a plethora of other military subjects. Boots memorized the General Orders, endured the gas chamber exercise, and demonstrated their swimming proficiency. A few weeks in, trainees began regular trips to the firing range to practice their marksmanship with the M-1 rifle and other weapons.[116] And, like their Army counterparts, Marine trainees looked forward to earning some "free time."

But, Marine Corps Boot Camp for all its similarities was not Army training. Determined not only to achieve the highest possible survival rate in battle, but to be the premier branch of the Armed Forces, the Marine Corps pushed its trainees, at least its male trainees, to the limit both mentally and physically.[117] Drill sergeants awakened Boots before dawn to begin days that would last sixteen to twenty hours.[118] And in those long days, Boots learned to perform with perfection or to suffer terrible consequences. Serious about stamping out individual identity and building Marines, cadre unhesitatingly employed corporal punishment. Men caught smoking had to smoke an entire pack of cigarettes with a bucket over their heads.[119] Those who failed to shave at the ordered intervals found themselves dry shaving while marching and singing the *Marine Corps Hymn*.[120] Messing up during a drill could earn one a whack on the head with a "swagger stick," a cut down broomstick. Freezing during grenade practice might result in a good beating administered by the drill instructor. One trainee caught with three candy bars had to eat

[116] Many detailed accounts of Marine Corps basic training exist. See Gene Dixon, Memoir, (Korean War Educator), 4-7; James H. Putnam, Memoir, (Korean War Educator), 3-6; and Robert B. Campbell, Memoir, (Korean War Educator), 2-4.
[117] Women, who in general would not see overseas duty, had a much easier Marine Corps basic training experience. Female veterans rarely remember any excessive physical training or corporal punishment. Rather, "I sometimes thought we were just like civil service members in uniform." Marie Kevensky, Interview by Hermann J. Trojanowski, 3 November 1999, WVHP, OHC, UNCG, 3.
[118] Norman D. Weibel, *Korean War Veteran Survey*, 5, CFSOKW and Robert B. Campbell, Memoir, (Korean War Educator), 2-3.
[119] Robert B. Campbell, Memoir, (Korean War Educator), 3.
[120] James H. Putnam, Memoir, (Korean War Educator), 5.

them on the spot, wrappers and all.[121] Another who coughed up phlegm and spit it out without permission had to lick it up off the ground. Not infrequently, an entire platoon paid for one man's mistake by missing out on recreational time or by drilling longer.[122] From the standpoint of the cadre, one man's mistakes in battle could cost the lives or freedom of everyone.[123]

Similarly, in war, one simply did not have any recreational time so why should there be any at Marine Boot Camp? Technically, Marine trainees had Sundays off, but in reality the pressures of basic training rarely subsided even for a day. Unsatisfied and overzealous drill instructors took free time away in a flash, ordering platoons which had performed poorly during the week to drill on Sundays and organizing competitive and compulsory football games and boxing matches to fill the day for the others.[124] Even treats, like a trip to the movies, could be used to teach lessons. Ralph Cutro remembers that once a week on very cold nights the cadre marched recruits to the drive-in to freeze "our tails off" in a sort of cold weather exercise.[125] While brutal, most Marines who served in the Korean War and other wartime eras look back upon Boot Camp as instrumental to their survival. "They taught us everything we needed to keep us alive when we went into combat."[126] Some even credit it with "the most amazing transition I can ever imagine…much of that training helped all of us involved, both in Korea, and life long after."[127]

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[121] Robert B. Campbell, Memoir, (Korean War Educator), 3.
[122] James H. Putnam, Memoir, (Korean War Educator), 5.
[123] While cadre and drill instructors seem to have had great latitude in disciplining their trainees, the Marine Corps did on occasion try overzealous trainers for the maltreatment of recruits. One veteran, Glenn Potts, mentions that throughout his basic training the D.I. repeatedly harassed him and refused to allow him to go to sick bay although he had been injured in an automobile accident. That D.I. was later convicted of charges stemming from his mistreatment of trainees. Glenn Potts to Melinda Pash, 5 July 2004, in author's possession.
[124] James H. Putnam, Memoir, (Korean War Educator), 4.
[125] Ralph Cutro, email to Melinda Pash, 28 February 2006, in author's possession.
[126] Leonard G. Sewell, *Korean War Veteran Survey*, 6, CFSOKW.
[127] John "Jack" Orth, *Korean War Veteran Survey*, 5, CFSOKW.

Even more than the Army, the Marine Corps regimented the life of its trainees. Almost from arrival, Boots did everything as a group and they did it in a uniform way.[128] They got up at the same time and made their bunks at the same time in the same way. When it came time to shower, the men lined up, marched to the showerhead as a group, pulled the ring to wet their bodies, applied soap in the prescribed order to their various body parts, rinsed, dried, and marched back to the bunks. Trainees went to chow together, trained together, and learned to do every task identically throughout their day until they all went to bed at the same appointed time. Boots even learned to communicate with one another using approved Marine vocabulary.[129] No longer did male or female trainees go upstairs or downstairs—they went topside or down below. They hit the deck, not the floor, and walls and windows became bulkheads and portholes while latrines became heads. Also, Boots learned that no matter where they were, the rules and procedures remained the same. Whether on base, at the pool, on a train, at the movies, stateside, or overseas, the Marine Corps expected Marines and Marine trainees to employ the lessons they had been taught and to recognize the chain of command.[130] In quick fashion, trainees learned to act and be alike and they also learned to respect and rely upon those who had internalized the same lessons as themselves. For many Marines, this lesson stuck with them not only in the heat of battle where they acted without ever doubting that their comrades would back them up, but in

[128] Gene Dixon, Memoir, (Korean War Educator), 5.
[129] The regimentation of Marine Corps basic training still exists. For a description, see Rod Powers, "Surviving Military Basic Training," at http://usmilitary.about.com.
[130] Colonel Frash in Congress, Senate, *Communist Interrogation, Indoctrination and Exploitation of American Military and Civilian Prisoners: Hearings Before the Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations of the Committee of Government Operations*, 84th Cong., 2d sess., June 1956, 182-83.

later life as well. They, like Norman Weibel, were certain that "I could always count on my buddies and they on me. Response would be instantaneous."[131]

Those who completed Boot Camp felt more than a deep sense of accomplishment. They had watched some of their number wash out, unable to handle the constant pressure, and seen others held back by an inability to perform satisfactorily on proficiency tests. But they had made it and these new Marines saw themselves in a new light. Strict drill instructors and cadre had not only prepared them well for whatever duty lay ahead, they had transformed them as individuals. "We arrived at boot camp as mere boys, but left there as men." [132] No prouder day could be imagined than graduation where the former trainees finally got to pin the Corps emblem on their uniforms, a symbol that they had entered the exclusive world of Marines. They passed in review in front of the camp's big brass while a Marine Corps band played and friends and family looked on. Whatever else they did in life, Korean War era Marines could reflect on the fact that they had accomplished this.

Marines they might be, but for those destined for wartime duty in Korea, more training waited just around the corner. Unlike the Army which shipped new soldiers straight from six or eight weeks of basic to the war zone, the Marine Corps decreed in September 1950 that all Marines leaving for Korean duty had to have at least twelve weeks of training.[133] Also, by the end of the war, all war-bound soldiers had to pass through specially designed programs at Camp

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[131] Norman D. Weibel, *Korean War Veteran Survey*, 5, CFSOKW. See also Ralph Cutro, *Korean War Veteran Survey*, 5, CFSOKW and Colonel Frash in Congress, Senate, *Communist Interrogation, Indoctrination and Exploitation of American Military and Civilian Prisoners*, 182-83. Explaining why fewer Marines succumbed to Communist "brainwashing" than Army soldiers, Frash extolled the cohesiveness achieved by the corps: "[The Marine] is trained to rely on his fellow Marine. He is trained to rely on his non commissioned officers."

[132] Harlee Lassiter, attachment to *Korean War Veteran Survey*, CFSOKW. Also, James H. Appleton, *Korean War Veteran Survey*, 5, CFSOKW and Boyce Clark, Memoir, (Korean War Educator), 4.

[133] Combat veterans who had completed Boot Camp in an earlier era also had to have at least four weeks of refresher training. "Army Denies Use of Green Troops," *New York Times*, 10 September 1950, 6. The Marine Corps, like the Army, though, did not always follow its own rules and, especially early in the war, Reserve troops shipped out to the war zone without the requisite training. See *National Guard and Reserve Training* below.

Pendleton, California before their embarkation to Korea. New Boot Camp graduates assigned to any of the supporting arms groups, such as artillery or tanks, first entered a Supporting Arms Regiment for an additional four weeks of training. All men at the rank of sergeant or below with less than six months in a military occupational specialty (MOS) passed through the Infantry Training Regiment for four weeks of infantry training. All Marines, regardless of length of service, joined the Staging Regiment for three weeks of processing, physical and combat conditioning, lectures and demonstrations, and intensive cold weather training.[134]

At the Staging Regiment, the final stop before heading to the Far East, Marines received all of their combat equipment from helmets and rifles to mess kits and canteens. They updated their administrative records, including pay allotments, insurance, wills, emergency data forms, and dog tags. Doctors and dentists performed thorough examinations, making sure cavities got filled, shots were up to date, and men met the minimum standards of physical fitness. "Nothing was left to chance, no body part left unexamined."[135] Trainees attended lectures and classes on a variety of subjects such as how to live in the field, laying and removing land mines and booby traps, and life aboard troop ships. Experts warned them once again of the dangers of venereal disease, producing photos and films that showed "scabbed, deformed, and oozing genitalia."[136] Officers emphasized the Universal Code of Military Justice, again and again cautioning Marines not to do anything that might land them in a naval prison or worse. Men practiced for war by marching, completing obstacle courses, conducting close order drills, throwing live grenades, and firing pistols, carbines, and BARs.

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[134] Lee Ballenger, *The Final Crucible: U. S. Marines in Korea, v. II: 1953* (Washington, D.C.: Brassey's, 2001), 6-11.
[135] *Ibid*., 7.
[136] *Ibid*.

Perhaps most importantly, especially for those leaving for Korea in winter, Marines at the Staging Regiment underwent cold weather training. While still at camp, they watched films demonstrating how to survive the cold and the consequences of improper preparation. James Brady recalls a color film clip in which the surgeon didn't have to cut off the toes of a frostbite victim, "he simply bent them back and they broke off in his surgical glove, all five toes, bloody at the stump but otherwise black and dead." Brady also remembers the lesson—"Avoid this…keep your feet dry, change your socks, and don't get frostbite."[137] Then the men received the latest in military issue winter clothing—long underwear, fur parkas, wool gloves, socks, hats, vests, and, by late 1952, rubber thermal boots—along with another demonstration on the use and care of their new items. After such preliminaries, the men were loaded onto Greyhound buses for a twelve hour trip to Pickel Meadows, California in the Sierra Nevadas where they would spend six days and nights surviving the elements.

At Pickel Meadows, the Marines learned many things about surviving in the cold.[138] They built shelters for themselves, melted snow to make water, warmed frozen rations to an edible temperature, and came to understand that weapons performed differently at extreme temperatures. After the second day, Marines spent their time hiking through the snow, breaking trails, crossing streams, and living out of their packs. Now sufficiently beaten down by the weather, trainees learned that the Marine Corps had another lesson in store for them. Frostbite or hypothermia could kill, but so too could the enemy. Marines pretending to be Chinese soldiers took every opportunity to attack the hapless and exhausted trainees—they pounced in the dead of night after men had bedded down, at wayside lunch breaks, and as men stopped to catch their

[137] James Brady, *The Coldest War: A Memoir of Korea* (New York: Orion Books, 1990), 7.
[138] Near Sonora Pass, Pickel Meadows proved an ideal training ground for the Korean War. Mountainous and isolated, Pickel Meadows remained frigid almost year round with snow blanketing the landscape. Daytime temperatures ranged from 10-48 degrees, but fell well below zero at night. Ballenger, *The Final Crucible*, 9.

breath after miles of hiking through the thin air. Trainees unfortunate enough to be captured did not return to some safe, warm holding cell. Instead, their captors interrogated them all night in sign language and Chinese terms.[139] Eventually, the exercise ended and the trainees returned to Camp Pendleton, but the brutal and realistic experience left its mark on all. Back at camp, some men even had to be treated for frostbite.[140] Only now did the Marine Corps deem its men ready, after a final parade and a weekend of liberty, to ship out for the real war in Korea.[141]

Marine Corps basic training differed from Army Boot Camp in many ways, but most importantly, for the Marines basic truly represented only a single step in a thorough and lengthy training process. In explaining why Marines in prisoner of war camps did not "crack" as often as Army soldiers, Colonel Frash emphasized that the Marine Corps did not rely only upon past training, but instead continuously trained its troops. He said, "From the day a man enters the Marine Corps he is under training of some sort or another….His officers are constantly under training."[142] And the kind of training that Marines received mirrored the situations they would face in combat as nearly as possible. Trainees underwent extreme physical and mental challenges with little rest or respite. Thus, the Corps rarely had occasion to commit "green" or under-trained troops to battle or to command positions within the war zone.[143] As a result,

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[139] *Ibid*., 10-12.
[140] Norman D. Weibel, *Korean War Veteran Survey*, 5, CFSOKW.
[141] Once the Marine Corps set up the Staging Regiment, every Marine headed to Korea went through the Pickel Meadows exercise, even chaplains, doctors, officers, and corpsmen. Pilots went through a modified course where they were dropped out to live in the elements for a couple of days, just as if they had been shot down in war. Ballenger, *The Final Crucible*, 11.
[142] Colonel Frash in *Communist Interrogation, Indoctrination and Exploitation of American Military and Civilian Prisoners*, 182-3.
[143] New lieutenants headed for Korea, whether recent recruits or "mustangs" commissioned from the ranks, also went through fairly extensive training programs before being sent even though lieutenants were in short supply. Once trained, however, these junior officers often flew to the war zone where they were badly needed. See Ballenger, *The Final Crucible*, 9. Some scholars argue that the Marine Corps in Korea enjoyed greater success than the Army because those in command positions within the war zone had been trained by real combat unlike many Army officers who had moved up the chain of command without any significant experience on the battlefield. Faris

Marines in Korea could fall back on what they had learned and represent well the Corps that sent them.

Navy and Air Force Boot Camp and Basic Training

Like all branches of the military, the Navy and Air Force used basic training to indoctrinate recruits and prepare them for life within the service.[144] Trainees learned military customs and courtesies, discipline, personal hygiene, pride in unit, rules of conduct, emergency first aid, and military insignia.[145] Most Boots also got the opportunity to drill and become familiar with weaponry, such as the M-1 rifle.[146] In general, however, both Navy and Air Force basic training focused less on the development of combat skills than on other things.

Navy Boot Camp, which lasted 9 to 11 weeks during the Korean War period and took place at either Great Lakes, Illinois or San Diego, California, sought to instruct recruits on naval history and traditions while familiarizing them with the skills they would need aboard ship or in future technical training.[147] The Navy provided trainees with a copy of the "Sailor's Bible," or the *Blue Jackets Manual*—outlining the duties and requirements of becoming a seaman and

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R. Kirkland, "Soldiers and Marines at Chosin Reservoir: Criteria for Assignment to Combat Command," *Armed Forces & Society* 22:2 (Winter 1995): 257-274. Even for the Marines, this was not always true. Especially early in the war reservists shipped out with only a couple weeks of refresher training behind them. See "National Guard and Reserve Training" below.

[144] Neither the Navy nor Air Force accepted draftees during the Korean War.

[145] "Report on Training," December 1955, 35, (Bradley Commission): Records, 1954-58, A69-22 and 79-6, Box 58, DDE Library and Shelburne and Groves, *Education in the Armed Forces*, 28.

[146] Women in the Navy learned standard military drill, but they did so without rifles. Rogers, "These Boots Wear Skirts," 1025. In 1951, women's recruit training moved to Bainbridge, Maryland where larger facilities were available. Ebbert and Hall, *Crossed Currents*, 129.

[147] Early in the war, the Navy permanently cut Boot Camp from 14 to 11 weeks. Heavy enlistments in December 1950 led to a temporary reduction to 9 weeks. "Great Lakes 'Boot' Training Cut," *New York Times*, 7 January 1951, 64. Also, "Report on Training," December 1955, 38, (Bradley Commission): Records, 1954-58, A69-22 and 79-6, Box 58, DDE Library.

containing information on ships—and expected them to know it. Both men and women studied naval exploits from John Paul Jones to the Battle of Midway and learned to recognize different types of ships and flags.[148] They learned about naval organization and the different rates and rankings of personnel. Classroom lectures explained compass directions, semaphore signaling, ship navigation, the types and uses of aircraft and weapons, and the contents of the Universal Code of Military Justice. Cadre conducted hands on drills to familiarize trainees with fire fighting techniques, damage control, anti-aircraft gunnery, and gas mask usage.[149] Male enlistees also watched films on the prevention of venereal disease and underwent exercises designed to help them survive at sea. At some point during their training, men jumped into the water from twenty or thirty foot towers and then took off their trousers to use them as flotation devices.[150] Throughout the course, recruits took a number of pop quizzes and exams on the material thrown at them, but in the end, everything came down to whether or not one could swim. No matter how well a trainee had done on other things, he or she could not graduate Navy basic until passing a swimming proficiency exam, treading water for thirty minutes and swimming the length of the pool.[151]

Having separated from the Army, the Air Force revamped its 8 to 13 week basic training in the late 1940s and early 1950s.[152] Recruits continued to learn military drill and basic military

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[148] Tony Ybarra, Memoir, (Korean War Educator), 3; Ralph David Fly, Memoir, (Korean War Educator), 4; and Lt. Robert A. Rogers III, "These Boots Wear Skirts," *United States Naval Institute Proceedings* 75:9 (September 1949), 1025.

[149] Glenn Schroeder, Memoir, (Korean War Educator), 3.

[150] *Ibid*. and Ralph David Fly, Memoir, (Korean War Educator), 5. In order to float, men took off their pants, tied knots in the end of each leg, and put the pants up over their shoulders in such a way that they filled with air.

[151] Tony Ybarra, Memoir, (Korean War Educator), 3. The length of time treading water and the distance to be swum varied.

[152] "Report on Training," December 1955, 38, (Bradley Commission): Records, 1954-58, A69-22 and 79-6, Box 58, DDE Library. The Air Force compressed basic training for Aviation Cadets to just 4 weeks in an effort to save time. Cadets, however, had a long course to complete including 4 weeks of "Preflight" or basic training where they got an introduction to military life, 18 weeks of "Primary" training focused on navigation and instruments as well as on

subjects, but new elements became increasingly important. For women, more formal studies replaced long marches, bivouacs, and combat training. Female trainees attended refresher and new courses in advanced mathematics, citizenship, airplane recognition, map reading, first aid, personal hygiene, and survival in the tropics or the Arctic.[153] Men submitted to an Airman Classification Test Battery where information on their educational background, occupation, hobbies, and aptitudes was collected and handed over to Career Guidance personnel who then assisted the trainee in selecting the best Air Force specialty for him. Army instruction did not completely go away, but it did become so watered down that soon after the Korean War, while the Army tried to increase the length of its basic training, the Air Force reduced its Boot Camp to six weeks for any recruit selected for technical training.[154]

While Navy and Air Force basic training may have been less physically or emotionally demanding than that offered by the Army or Marines, it was still Boot Camp. Drill instructors and cadre told recruits when to eat, sleep, shave, shower, march, and even write home.[155] In the

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elementary flying time, 18 weeks of "Basic" which despite the name consisted of advanced instruction in instruments and flying, and 12 weeks of "Advanced" training where recruits specialized in a particular area. John Darrell Sherwood, *Officers in Flight Suits: The Story of American Air Force Fighter Pilots in the Korean War* (New York: NYU Press, 1996), 41-65 and Walton S. Moody and Warren A. Trest, "The Air Force as an Institution," in Bernard C. Nalty, ed., *Winged Shield, Winged Sword: A History of the United States Air Force, Volume II: 1950-1997* (Washington, D.C.: Air Force History and Museums Program, 1997), 118.

[153] Gertrude Samuels, "It's 'Hup, 2, 3, 4' and 'Yes Ma'am,'" *New York Times*, 3 September 1950, 88. Women found the Air Force a particularly attractive option. In an attempt to encourage female enlistment, the Air Force guaranteed women that they could enlist together and stay together at least through basic training. "Armories Sought for Reserves' Use," *New York Times*, 4 December 1950, 20. Also, WAFs could enter almost every aviation specialty. Deborah G. Douglas and others, *American Women and Flight Since 1940* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2004), 134.

[154] "Air Force to Cut Recruit Training," *New York Times*, 9 August 1955, 9. By mid-1956, the Air Force again reduced the length of basic training to just 4 weeks for any recruit headed to a technical school lasting sixteen weeks or longer. "Air Drill is Again Cut," *New York Times*, 7 May 1956, 6. It should be noted that many of the Air Force personnel who ended up in Korea were pilots or aviation cadets and they had considerably more training than the average Air Force recruit. For more see Sherwood, *Officers in Flight Suits.*

[155] One Navy veteran recalls a funny incident that illustrates the status of recruits in relation to basic training cadre. One morning as the chief approached for the morning inspection, the men treated him to a chorus of "Good morning dear teacher, good morning dear teacher. We have bright sunny faces. We are all in our places." Then they followed up with "Oh this is the way we brush our teeth, brush our teeth so early in the morning." Navy enlistees, like Army or Marine trainees, lost most of their freedom while at Boot Camp, but the experience could be likened in

Navy, trainees learned not just the proper way to wear their uniforms, but how to fold and launder them. Wet clothing had to hang dry, held in place by "tie ties," little pieces of string tied into square knots with the loose ends tucked out of sight. Each morning roaming inspectors graded the laundry and anyone unfortunate enough to have made mistakes might find his wet clothes thrown down on the deck.[156] Trainees, in fact, found their every move subject to inspection and correction and men or women who did not conform to military standards faced punishment. After getting caught chewing gum, a substance banned because of the possible damage to ship decks, Glen Schroeder had to wear the offending piece on his nose.[157] One naval recruit who refused to shower regularly and wore dirty underwear got ordered to the shower where three members of his squad bathed him clothes and all.[158] For countless others, minor infractions and mistakes resulted in the loss of weekend liberty or the assignment of extra duties or physically draining drills.[159] As one veteran notes, the cadre may not have used corporal punishment, but "it doesn't mean that they did not inflict pain."[160]

Also, just as at Army basic training and Marine Boot Camp, Navy and Air Force trainees lived in cramped and uncomfortable quarters. WAVE recruits slept in small cubicles with two double-deck bunks and four lockers while WAFs occupied two bed cubicles in barracks of fifty

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some ways to children being guided by kindergarten teachers. Ralph David Fly, Memoir, (Korean War Educator), 4.

[156] Glen Schroeder, Memoir, (Korean War Educator), 3 and Ralph David Fly, Memoir, (Korean War Educator), 3.

[157] Glenn Schroeder, Memoir, (Korean War Educator), 3.

[158] Tony Ybarra, Memoir, (Korean War Educator), 3.

[159] Samuels, "It's 'Hup, 2, 3, 4' and 'Yes Ma'am,'" *New York Times*, 3 September 1950, 88; Rogers, "These Boots Wear Skirts," 1026; and Tony Ybarra, Memoir, (Korean War Educator), 3.

[160] Glen Schroeder, Memoir, (Korean War Educator), 3. One veteran recalls that not all men were able to complete Navy boot camp in their original companies. Some had difficulty with the rules and regulations while others had medical or dental problems or issues like bedwetting. These moved into the "Triple Zero Company," where they wore leggings or "boots" denoting their status. Email to Melinda Pash from Harry Matthews, 17 October 2006, in author's possession.

or more women.[161] Male Navy trainees often stayed in more typical barracks, but had to stow all of their belongings in sea bags and ditty bags that hung from the front of the bunk.[162] Surprisingly, Air Force enlistees could only dream of the luxuries enjoyed by those in other branches of the military. Lackland Air Force Base, the Air Force's primary basic training location, became so overcrowded during the war that rumors of suicides, epidemics, and deaths spread, prompting various investigations. With almost 70,000 recruits crammed into the camp, which was built for less than 30,000, the Air Force could only offer tents for housing and the training program all but collapsed. Senators accused the Air Force of greedily snapping up the country's top notch volunteers, who hoped to avoid the draft, and denying the Army of quality manpower. Senator Lyndon Baines Johnson publicly censored the Air Force, prompting further studies of the crowded conditions. Red Cross, Air Force, and other reports eventually exonerated the Air Force, finding "no instance of actual hardship," but countless recruits suffered the cold winter rains or hot summer winds in their leaky, rickety tent city. The Air Force might have seemed an easy alternative to Army service, but training conditions at Lackland ranked among the worst in the military.[163]

In most cases, what happened at Navy or Air Force Boot Camp stayed at Boot Camp, but one offense in particular could haunt recruits for the rest of their lives. Throughout the 1950s, all branches of the military scrutinized trainees for evidence of homosexuality, but the Navy and Air Force enforced the military's anti-gay policy with special vigor. In a reversal of World War II

[161] Rogers, "These Boots Wear Skirts," 1025 and Samuels, "It's 'Hup, 2, 3, 4' and 'Yes Ma'am,'" 88.
[162] Glen Schroeder, Memoir, (Korean War Educator), 2.
[163] "Air Officers Deny Hardships at Base," *New York Times*, 30 January 1951, 6 and "Training Program Collapse is Blamed on Overcrowding Facilities at Lackland Base," *Daily Oklahoman*, 19 February 1951, 1. That the Air Force lacked adequate housing for its recruits in the Korean War period is understandable given that the corps more than doubled in size from 1950, when it had a strength of 411,000, to 1953, when it contained 977,000 troops. Moody and Trest, "The Air Force as an Institution," in Nalty, ed., *Winged Shield, Winged Sword*, 110.

practices, both began intense indoctrination programs designed to encourage revulsion toward homosexuals and impart a willingness to inform on those suspected of being gay.[164] At their physical exams, future female airmen had to answer a series of questions like, "Do you prefer going to parties with all boys or all girls?" and "Have you ever had any feelings for women that you think might not be acceptable to other women?" The Office of Special Investigations stalked possible lesbians, opening their mail, questioning them in the middle of the night, and interrogating their friends.[165] For its part, the Navy treated WAVES to a three part series of lectures on the legal, medical, and moral consequences of homosexuality. Line officers explained that women who "branded and disgraced themselves" with homosexuality would receive less than honorable discharges and could even be court-martialed. Medical officers debunked the idea that homosexuals "are born and not made" and affirmed that lesbians too contracted gonorrhea and syphilis. Chaplains warned against women alienating themselves from God and spirituality through even a single homosexual encounter.[166] For men, the anti-gay lectures could be even more graphic. Recruits received explicit advice on how to spot gays, reject their advances, and report them to officials. In 1948, the Navy made a startling connection between homicide and homosexuality. Instructors described "grisly murders" where "sometimes the bodies of these victims are horribly mutilated" and noted that the impulse which led to such events could usually "be linked to homosexuality."[167] For recruits careless or foolish enough to get "outed" at basic training or after, disastrous consequences awaited. General discharges under

[164] During World War II, military policy had been to keep silent on homosexuality as discussion might arouse curiosity. Also, throughout that war anti-gay regulations were enforced only haphazardly as a result of manpower shortages. Berube, *Coming Out Under Fire*, 263 and Meyer, "Creating G.I. Jane," 592-593.
[165] Loretta "Ret" Coller in Humphrey, *My Country, My Right to Serve*, 11-14. Similar tactics had been used earlier. See Meyers, *Creating GI Jane*, 173-175.
[166] Allan Berube and John D'Emilio, "The Military and Lesbians during the McCarthy Years, *Signs* 9:4 (Summer 1984), 764-770.
[167] Berube, *Coming Out Under Fire*, 263-264.

less than honorable conditions or dishonorable discharges carried with them more than shame. Even if a court-martial did not follow, the recipient of such discharges could lose the right to vote, the ability to work in any government or government-affiliated agency, and veterans' benefits.[168]

The men and women who completed Navy or Air Force basic training, not unlike the trainees of other branches of the Armed Forces, welcomed graduation day. Bands and buglers heralded the end of Boot Camp rigors as the recruits passed in one final review before beginning their new military careers. Undoubtedly some Boots had mixed feelings as they reflected upon their new status, but most felt very proud of their achievement.[169] Not only did they possess more knowledge, skills, and physical fitness than when they enlisted, but they had survived the trials of military training.[170] Now, these newly minted servicemen and servicewomen had only to be fitted into their respective services, to enter the professions in which they were needed. Many would attend advanced training, some would ship out to the war zone, but all would go where ordered by Uncle Sam.[171]

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[168] Loretta "Ret" Coller in Humphrey, *My Country, My Right to Serve*, 14-17. Some women discharged for lesbianism contacted the American Civil Liberties Union for help, charging that during the review process the military had denied them counsel and failed to advise them that they need not testify against themselves. The ACLU, though, refused assistance on the basis that Army expulsion of homosexuals did not violate civil liberties. Berube and D'Emilio, "The Military and Lesbians during the McCarthy Years," 770-775.

[169] For an example, see Tony Ybarra, Memoir, (Korean War Educator), 3.

[170] See Joseph Francis Brown, Memoir, (Korean War Educator), 4.

[171] Because of the sophisticated equipment used by both the Navy and Air Force, specialized training beyond Boot Camp often proved indispensable for recruits. During the Korean War, a whopping 68.3% of Navy enlistees received specialized training of some sort. "Report on Training," December 1955, Tab C, (Bradley Commission): Records, 1954-58, A69-22 and 79-6, Box 58, DDE Library. For some men, further training could ensure release from the Armed Forces without draft liability. Until 1951, aviation washouts received immunity from the draft, so some men signed up as aviation cadets only to resign after the first week. To fix the problem, the Air Force changed its policy so that all men who resigned after February 1951 had to serve four years wherever the Air Force felt inclined to use them. Sherwood, *Officers in Flight Suits,* 39-40.

National Guard and Reserve Training

As early as the Revolutionary War Americans dreamed of an army of patriots, citizen-soldiers who would muster in during times of national crisis and then go back to their own lives when peace returned. The balance, though, often proved tricky—men too wedded to civilian ways remained difficult to manage and unskilled in the art of war while those too well-trained found themselves best suited for the regular military. Still, in the years after World War II, Army planners, scrambling to devise a system which would both allow for a smaller regular army and provide the country with adequate military protection, decided to lean heavily on the National Guard. Army Chief of Staff George C. Marshall and others gambled that Guard units, which answered to their respective states rather than to the Army except when federalized, could transform "weekend warriors" into a combat-ready M-Day or Mobilization-Day force capable of augmenting the Army at a moment's notice.[172] The sudden and unexpected outbreak of the Korean War, however, revealed the training and preparation of the Guard unworthy of such a burden. The immediate deployment of Guard troops to Korea or anywhere else simply could not take place. Only months of additional training, including Army basic training, could prepare guardsmen for active duty.

In the mid-1940s, the Army had developed a six year training program for national guardsmen, but these plans never reached fruition. Confronted with the reality of three year enlistments, the National Guard halved the length of its training in 1948. Theoretically, recruits would spend one year each on basic soldier skills, beginning specialist training, and advanced

[172] Donnelly, *Under Army Orders*, 7. Also, Marshall Andrews, "'M-Day Force' Still Mainly on Paper," *Washington Post*, 30 July 1950, 3B.

skills.[173] But, a year of National Guard training throughout the 1940s and 1950s consisted of only 96 hours of weekly or biweekly drills and a two week summer camp, a very short time in which to produce qualified infantrymen or artillerymen.[174] Also, because guardsmen never completed basic training of any sort, NCOs and officers not only had to hone the skills of their recruits, but to somehow fit lessons on military customs and rules into their schedules.[175] Personnel turnover further intensified this time crunch by ensuring that the thinly stretched Guard had to offer separate classes for men of different skill levels.[176] Not surprisingly, the Guard recruits, who lived at home and trained in their own neighborhoods with friends or even relatives, lacked the kind of indoctrination given regular Army draftees or enlistees and remained amazingly independent of military life and unprepared for the battlefield.[177] By early 1950, an Army Field Forces report lamented that "it is doubtful if the training and overall efficiency of the Guard will ever reach its desired standards."[178] The press agreed, stating that though guardsmen "were called soldiers, they were not soldiers, and, in the true meaning of the word, had never expected to be soldiers."[179]

National Guard training before activation for the Korean War might have been inadequate, but the fault usually lay with the system itself, with the lack of training time and equipment, and not with the NCOs and officers. By 1950, many of those in charge of educating

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[173] Donnelly, *Under Army Orders*, 17-18.
[174] *Ibid*., 19.
[175] See George W. Gatliff, Memoir, (Korean War Educator), 2. Polled after the Korean War, 65% of Americans decided that members of the National Guard should take six months of basic training in the regular Army before entering the guard. George Gallup, Jr., *The Gallup Poll: Public Opinion 1935-1971* (New York: Random House, 1972) 1471. Not until the 1960s, however, would guardsmen be required to go to Boot Camp.
[176] Donnelly,*Under Army Orders*, 18.
[177] Relatives not infrequently served together in National Guard units. One veteran recalls that his unit had four sets of brothers and numerous cousins in it. "I guess we were just like a big happy family." Conrad Grimshaw, Memoir, (Korean War Educator), 4.
[178] Army Field Forces, "Report of Staff Visit to National Guard Units of Texas and Oklahoma," January 1950, 11, NA, RG 337, Box 26.
[179] Marshall Andrews, "'M-Day Force' Still Mainly on Paper," *Washington Post*, 30 July 1950, 3B.

recruits could claim wartime experience, having served in World War II or even World War I.[180] They knew the demands of battle and tried to impart as many martial skills as possible to their men in the time allotted. On drill nights, guardsmen marched, trained on weapons ranging from rifles to 50 caliber machine guns, learned Army regulations and tactics, performed close order drills, and practiced the particular specialty of their company—artillery, maintenance, etc.[181] When summer came, they got the opportunity to play soldier for a couple of weeks at camp. The men went on bivouacs where they lived in the field, learned to shave with cold water, and ate c-rations. Even here, though, discipline remained much more lax than in the regular Army. Frank Rowan remembers that after being denied a pass, he simply snuck his girlfriend into the camp to spend the weekend with him, an action that would not have gone unnoticed or unpunished in Army basic training.[182] Certainly, these experiences could not replace the basic training given to regulars.

Consequently, when news of war in Korea broke, few guardsmen had been prepared even for their traditional role—taking over the stateside training responsibilities left behind by deployed reservists—and more than a few seemed surprised to be activated at all.[183] Ordered to prepare for active duty, National Guard units had much to do. The ranks had to be filled, no easy

[180] World War I veterans dominated the general officer ranks while World War II veterans made up the majority of field grade and company grade officers. World War II enlisted men also received a fair number of commissions in the postwar period. Donnelly, *Under Army Orders*, 13-15. In the Oklahoma 45th, or the Thunderbird Division, 40% of the officers commissioned after reactivation in 1946 came from the ranks of the wartime enlisted, 10% of the officers served with the T-Birds during World War II, and 20-21%of the enlisted men were themselves veterans of the Second World War. "45th Packed with Know-How," *Daily Oklahoman*, 8 August 1950, 3. Many Korean War era guardsmen remember that their non-commissioned officers had served in World War II. See Arthur Smith, Memoir, (Korean War Educator), 1; Leonard DeBord to Melinda Pash, 6 December 2004, in author's possession; Conrad Grimshaw, Memoir, (Korean War Educator), 3; and George W. Gatliff, Memoir, (Korean War Educator), 3.
[181] Frank Rowan, "History of the 161st Ordnance Depot Company and the 502nd Ordnance Depot Platoon 1948/1952," updated 9 October 2001, 1-5, included with *Korean War Veteran Survey*, CFSOKW and Arthur Smith, Memoir, (Korean War Educator), 1.
[182] Rowan, "History of the 161st Ordnance Depot Company and the 502nd Ordnance Platoon 1948/1952," 3-4.
[183] Men in the Illinois 44th, a unit ranking quite low in Army evaluations, felt very surprised to be called upon to activate. Billy R. Smith, Memoir, (Korean War Educator), 4-5. Also, Donnelly, *Under Army Orders*, 64.

task given that the draft took its allotment of eligible men and that the Guard could no longer rely upon high school student enlistments to pump up the numbers.[184] Equipment had to be put in order and prepared for shipment to wherever the Army had decided to send the unit. And, as much training as possible had to be squeezed in around administrative paperwork and processing.[185] Then, the units gathered at the armories to be formally brought under Army orders, ready to ship out for further training.

Before they could be of use to the Army either at home or in the war zone, newly activated guardsmen had first to go through basic training. Like other Army recruits, they left home for camps around the country where they marched, fired weapons, passed through obstacle courses, and endured bivouacs. But, the nature of the National Guard made for a different kind of basic training experience. Guardsmen stationed at a camp near home could return to their families at night as long as they made it back to training by reveille. Officers and NCOs refrained from much of the usual harassment of trainees and allowed enough free time that the men could wile away evenings at the PX or cruise the local bars in search of women.[186] More importantly, because National Guard units had to put together a unit and not just train individual replacements, they had to continue to offer basic training to "fillers" even after original members

[184] Before the outbreak of the Korean War, the National Guard recruited heavily among high school boys, some as young as 15 or 16 years old. When it became clear that units were mobilizing for war, parents scrambled to get their kids out of the Guard and the Army allowed that boys with proof that they were under the age of 18 could be discharged. George W. Gatliff, Memoir, (Korean War Educator), 2-3 and Donnelly, *Under Army Orders*, 27. This, along with the fact that some veterans had to be discharged for medical reasons, further increased the manpower shortage within units.

[185] Training should have been a priority for National Guard units preparing for activation. In the Oklahoma 45th Division, only 60% of guardsmen activated for the Korean War had at least one summer camp and a year of Armory training behind them. The rest presumably had far less. "45th Packed with Know-how," *Daily Oklahoman*, 8 August 1950, 3. The training just prior to mobilization often did make a great impact on guardsmen determined not to go to war unprepared. Some, like Leonard A. DeBord, mention that all the activity succeeded in producing a "well-trained, cohesive, disciplined and prepared unit." Letter to Melinda Pash, 6 December 2004.

[186] George W. Gatliff, Memoir, (Korean War Educator), 3 and Frank Rowan, "History of the 161st Ordnance Depot Company and the 502nd Ordnance Depot Platoon 1948/1952," 10.

of the group had completed the course.[187] So, at any given time, a National Guard unit might be conducting training on all levels from individual basic to regimental drills. Command of all of this complicated training could fall to almost anyone because officers and NCOs continuously rotated in and out of the unit while attending various schools. Arthur Kelly remembers that as a second lieutenant he became battery commander by default, saddled with the responsibility of conducting basic training, qualifying men for individual weapons, and getting everything ready for overseas orders.[188] Similarly, at only eighteen years old, George Hubbard, who had been in the Army for just six months, began leading men through basic training.[189]

Finally, after many months of individual, company, battalion, regimental, and division training and numerous proficiency tests, the Army deemed National Guard units ready for duty. Some remained stateside to function as training battalions, but the Army ordered many others to ship out to Japan or Korea.[190] Not surprisingly, guardsmen headed for the Far East felt great apprehension about their new assignment, a fear only made deeper by the upheaval that their units faced on the eve of departure. Even while packing equipment and conducting last minute drills, some units actually had to find replacements to bring them up to strength. Levies taken by the Army to sustain divisions already in Korea drained off hundreds of members while Army

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[187] National Guard units often conducted basic training until their overseas departures. As manpower needs in Korea went up, the Army took levies of individuals from National Guard units to be sent to Korea as individual replacements. As they did so, units had to be replenished with reservists, enlistees, or draftees, most of whom needed to be given basic training. Some units lost and replaced as many as 6000 men in a year or so of training. "New Training Plan is Set for Guard," *New York Times*, 11 October 1951, 27 and Donnelly, *Under Army Orders*, 22, 41, and 59-60. Additionally, the National Guard provided training for individual replacements. One division commander noted that it "was a sad day to see the draftees leave us for the Korean War, only after an inadequate fourteen weeks of military training with us." Quoted in Donnelly, *Under Army Orders*, 61.

[188] Arthur L. Kelly, Interview by Russell Harris, 16 December 1993, 9-17 (Kentuckiana Digital Library at http://kdl.kyvl.org).

[189] George Hubbard, Memoir, (Korean War Educator), 3.

[190] All told, forty-one non-divisional National Guard units served in Korea. Most arrived between January and March 1951, but a few shipped out only five months after the start of the war and units continued to be sent as late as 1952. Donnelly, *Under Army Orders*, 69.

policies requiring fourteen weeks of basic for overseas duty disqualified some of the men on hand.[191] Despite having enlisted in part to go with the men they knew, many guardsmen found as they boarded the troopship that they would instead be going alone. Still, many felt proud that the Army had chosen to send them.[192] When relatives of men in the Oklahoma Thunderbird Division staged a protest against the division's overseas assignment, bombarding state and federal congressmen with letters demanding that the 45th not be sent to Japan or Korea, members home on leave discouraged such activities and put an end to the movement.[193] Most guardsmen simply felt that they would rather deal with the communist problem at hand than leave it to become a larger problem for their children to solve and echoed seventeen year old Private First Class Joseph Popolo who said, "What comes, will come. We are all ready to go if called."[194]

For National Guard troops, training often did not end with arrival in the war theater. Units in Japan and Korea continued to train, either completing drills that had been left unfinished or applying lessons from the situation at hand as they now understood it, before actually entering the conflict.[195] Even so, regulars continued to eye guardsmen suspiciously and to believe them inadequate and poorly trained.[196] Whether that was true in general or not, guardsmen did possess

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[191] "45th Will Keep Training, Grant Short Furloughs," *Daily Oklahoman*, 25 February 1951, 18A; "Untrained G.I.'s to Stay," *New York Times*, 28 February 1951, 3; Frank Rowan, "History of the 161st Ordnance Depot Company and the 502nd Ordnance Depot Platoon 1948/1952," 10; and Donnelly, *Under Army Orders*, 61. Army rules also stipulated that men under the age of 18 were to be weeded out of the unit before shipping overseas. The burden of proof of age, however, fell to the individual recruits, many of whom wanted to remain in service. Although ordered to write home for his birth certificate, sixteen year old Fred Rose Jr. managed to remain with his unit in Korea until he was killed by a sniper. George W. Gatliff, Memoir, (Korean War Educator), 3.

[192] "45th Will Keep Training, Grant Short Furloughs," *Daily Oklahoman*, 25 February 1951, 18A.

[193] "Protests Over 45th Assignment Cease," *Daily Oklahoman*, 4 March 1951, 1.

[194] Joseph Popolo quoted in "2000 Guardsmen Back From Camp," *Philadelphia Inquirer*, 23 July 1950, 1.

[195] William T. Craig, *Lifer! From Infantry to Special Forces* (New York: Ivy Books, 1994), 33 and Donnelly, *Under Army Orders*, 71.

[196] Arthur R. May, Interview by Shawn Illinworth and Kevin Bing, 27 April 2004, 8-9, Rutgers Oral History Archives. In the case of individual replacements, regulars might have made a solid case for their assumption that Guard troops were inferior. When taking levies and shipping men from Guard units to the war zone, the Army did not always try to find a good match. Frank Rowan remembers that men from his outfit, an ordnance supply company, were attached to infantry companies in Korea although they had had little training in infantry tactics.

varied and uneven levels of training, leading many after the war to conclude that before entering the Guard men should have to complete Army basic.[197] Much as their militia forebears had to do, Korean War national guardsmen all too often learned their new trade "the hard way on the battlefield."[198]

Like their brethren in the National Guard, members of the Reserves, especially the inactive Reserves, greeted the Korean War with gloomy unpreparedness.[199] Although the post-World War II Navy conducted Boot Camp for its reserve recruits, other branches of the military not infrequently allowed weekly meetings and summer camps to suffice for training.[200] Worse still, some units, pressured to recruit and retain enlistees, made even this trivial amount of training voluntary. In Evansville, Indiana, where high school coaches recruited a number of teenage athletes for Marine Corps Reserve service, reservists did not have to attend a single meeting or summer camp in order to maintain their reserve status.[201] Additionally, in times of peace, reservists could quit any time they chose.[202] As a result, training cadre could not afford to

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Frank Rowan, "History of the 161st Ordnance Depot Company and the 502nd Ordnance Depot Platoon 1948/1952," 10. Some regulars felt the same way about reservists. See Henry Berry, *Hey Mac, Where Ya Been? Living Memories of the U. S. Marines in the Korean War* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1988), 152.

[197] A 1957 Gallup Poll showed that 65% of Americans believed that National Guardsmen should be required to take 6 months of basic training in the regular Army before being allowed to enter the Guard. More surprising, of Americans who knew that the Guard operated somewhat independently of the regular military, 48% thought it should be placed under the direct control of the Army. Gallup, *The Gallup Poll 1935-1971*, 1471-1472.

[198] Marshall Andrews, "'M-Day Force' Still Mainly on Paper," *Washington Post*, 30 July 1950, 3B.

[199] While the active reserves at least had meetings on a regular basis, the inactive reserves generally did not drill or even meet before being activated for the Korean War. Ironically, when activating the Reserves for Korea, the inactive reserves were first in line because military planners feared a larger war involving Russia and felt that the better trained active reserves needed to be saved for that possibility.

[200] "136 Seamen Reserves End 2-Month Course," *New York Times*, 20 August 1950, 54 and "Shake Down Cruise," 1-2, as told to Milinda Jensen by Daniel A. Gallucci for the United States of America Commemoration Site (www.korea50.army.mil/media/interviews/gallucci.shtml). At least after the Korean War began, the Women Marine Corps Reserves also received basic training. See "Boy Friends Cheer Girls Off to War," *New York Times*, 16 September 1950, 5.

[201] Randy K. Mills, "Unexpected Journey: Evansville's Marine Corps Reserve and the Korean War," *Traces of Indiana and Midwestern History* 12:3 (Summer 2000), 6-9. Summer camp attendance for Evansville's Marine Corps Reserve fell from just 54% in 1948 to an even lower 47% in 1949.

[202] This, of course, only applied to recruits who did not owe the military some sort of service at the end of an enlistment.

make training too strenuous or meetings too dull. Instead, Reserve get-togethers emphasized fun and games, leaving new recruits completely uninformed and unprepared for the possibility of actual combat. Veterans too suffered from this lack of vigorous training as any skills they had acquired during active duty faded away through years of tepid or nonexistent drilling.[203] Thus on the eve of the Korean Conflict the ready-to-go Reserves, like the National Guard, stood in dire need of time to train its members.

Unfortunately, reservists stood next in line behind the tattered and understrength regular military to enter the Korean battleground. All too quickly conditions grew grim along the Pusan Perimeter and the military had no choice but to call on the Reserves to deploy as replacements regardless of whether or not they had received adequate training. Fresh faced high school and weathered veteran reservists alike found their fates suddenly sealed.[204] In short order, they shuttled to military hubs, often located on the coast to allow for quicker deployment, for a couple of weeks of refresher training and then boarded Japan or Korea-bound ships or airplanes.[205]

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[203] Many of the veterans sent to Korea had not fired a weapon since World War II but were sent overseas within weeks of being called up. W. D. McGlasson, "Manpower for the Korean War," *VFW* (June-July 1990), 25.

[204] With varying degrees high school students were taken out of groups headed overseas. In Washington state, the newspaper reported that 17 and 18 year olds still in high school would be put into the inactive reserves at home while 18 year old graduates would go with their squadrons to the war. "Uniformed Teen-Agers Told of War's Outlook," *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, 18 August 1950, 19.

[205] Especially for reservists activated early in the war, the turnaround time from orders to sailing was very short. The first man from the Evansville Marine Corps Reserve unit died just 34 days after leaving Camp Pendleton where he had received 2 weeks of training. Mills, "Unexpected Journey," 12. Clyde Queen, who enlisted in the Marine Corps Reserves in July 1950, had only a couple of weeks of training under his belt when he landed at Inchon. Clyde H. Queen, Sr., "Straight to Hell," as told to Milinda D. Jensen, 50th Anniversary Korean War Commemoration Committee, (www.korea50.army.mil/media/interviews/ queen.shtml). Harry Van Zandt, who had served during World War II, received a 2 week refresher course before being flown to Korea and sent to the front lines. Harry Van Zandt, Interview by Tara Liston and Tara Kraenzlin, 11 March 1996, 27, Transcript by Donovan Bezer, Andrew Noyes, Shaun Illingworth, Harry Van Zandt, and Sandra Stewart Holyoak, Rutgers Oral History Archives for World War II. In 1955, General Shepherd admitted that during the Korean Conflict the Reserves were mobilized rapidly and "many men were in Korea within 6 weeks or 2 months after they were called to active duty." Quoted in *National Reserve Plan [No. 11]: Hearings Before Subcommittee No. 1 of the Committee on Armed Services*, 84th Cong., 1st sess., February-March 1955, 1327. Colonel F. W. Gibb agreed that there had been little time for any kind of extension training. Congress, House of Representatives, Subcommittee of the Committee on Appropriations, *Department of the Army Appropriations for 1957: Hearings*, 84th Congress, 2d session, 1956, 494.

Official policies called for underage or under-trained recruits to be removed from combat duty, but the drive for expediency sometimes meant that such rules got overlooked.[206] One commander promised his teenage charge "all the boot camp you want" after returning from Korea.[207] Another reservist notes that after serving at Inchon, Seoul, Chosin Reservoir, and the Guerilla Sweep the military advised him that his turn had come for basic training.[208] Pat Burris recalls that a couple members of his Marine Corps squad enlisted after the war began and had to be taught how to handle their weapons while on the troopship.[209] The Air Force sent "qualified" pilots, but many had not flown since World War II and a three week refresher could not prepare them for all that had changed since then. Most reservists had been trained on propeller planes, not jets, and few had experience with the type of formation flying now deemed essential.[210] Reservists simply had to learn while on the job and in the war. No wonder that many felt unprepared for war and that regulars frowned upon having to serve with reservists.[211] But, as Martin Chamberlain, commander of the Seattle Organized Naval Reserves Number 1, declared, "Anyone who joins a reserve unit by that action has told Uncle Sam he's willing to go."[212]

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[206] In early 1950, the Army said all reservists with less than a year of Army service would be sent to training centers and that all reservists would get at least a three week refresher course. "Army Denies Use of Green Troops," *New York Times*, 10 September 1950, 6.
[207] Quoted in Mills, "Unexpected Journey," 12.
[208] Austin Stack quoted in Berry, *Hey Mac, Where Ya Been?*, 205.
[209] A. Pat Burris, email to Melinda Pash, 20 July 2005, in author's possession.
[210] While terrible, Air Force reservists were not alone in having to learn to handle different types of planes while in the war zone. Even regular pilots ended up being assigned to planes with which they had little experience as a result of the incomplete shift from propeller to jet aircraft. "Boots" Blesse, a jet pilot before the war, had one evening in country to qualify on a new propeller plane for a mission the next morning. Robinson Risner flew only seven and a half hours in the F-86 before being deemed "combat ready." Chancey and Forstchen, *Hot Shots*, 39-41 and 158. Jim Kasler qualified in Korea to fly after only three flights in his plane. Perry D. Luckett and Charles L. Byler, *Tempered Steel: Three Wars of Triple Air Force Cross Winner Jim Kasler* (Dulles, VA: Potomac Books, 2005), 25-29.
[211] Robert Smith in Berry, *Hey, Mac, Where Ya Been?*, 152. Also J. Patrick Morrison, letter to Melinda Pash, 31 October 2004, in author's possession.
[212] Martin Chamberlain, quoted in "Marine Corps, Navy Reserve Practice," *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, 18 August 1950, 9A.

In general, however grudgingly, most reservists during the Korean War accepted their assignments. Infantrymen, some of whom had held a gun for the first time on their way to Korea, humped from village to village and battle to battle. Seamen left their wives and children for months or years to ferry soldiers back and forth between the war and home or to cart supplies to the troops. Pilots qualified on propeller aircraft learned through trial and error to fly jets over the Asian hills.[213] But, some backlash from reservists did occur during the war. Air Force pilots, frustrated that an inordinate number of reservists were being sent to Korea while regulars remained stateside, grumbled that "the regulars are policemen, so let them fight the police action."[214] Some attempted to evade duty by claiming a newly developed fear of flying or by trying to resign. Finally, in April 1952, six flying officers training at Randolph Air Force Base staged a "stay-down" strike in part to protest the use of reservists in the Korean War.[215] Well aware of both the inequities of the reserve call-up system and the problematic nature of reserve training, the House of Representatives introduced a new *Armed Forces Reserve Bill* in mid-1951. The bill provided among other things for reservists to be classified as either "ready" or "standby," depending upon how much time had passed since basic training and/or active duty.[216] The bill came too late, however, to be of any use to the thousands of reservists uprooted from civilian life and sent to Korea with little regard for the current status of their training. They would simply have to learn whatever else they needed to know when they arrived in the war zone or die trying.

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[213] See Colonel Cecil Foster in Jennie Ethell Chancey and William R. Forstchen, eds., *Hot Shots: An Oral History of the Air Force Combat Pilots of the Korean War* (New York: Harper Collins, 2000), 148.
[214] By 1952, some 80% of the Air Force's pilots were reservists. Donald S. Luther, "The 1952 Strike against Combat Training," *Peace and Change* 12:1-2 (1987), 96 and 101.
[215] *Ibid*., 98-100.
[216] "Standard Policies on Reserves Asked," *New York Times*, 3 July 1951, 4.

Training Oversights and Distractions

As days of war spun into years in the Korean hills, pitting American troops against both North Koreans and Chinese "volunteers," all branches of the Armed Forces stepped up efforts to make troop training tougher and more realistic. The Army especially turned away from "spit and polish" to focus instead on the mechanics of combat.[217] These revamped programs did manage to give recruits and draftees a more realistic foretaste of battle, but in a major training oversight the military failed to help trainees understand just exactly why they had been called to learn military skills at all and why they might have to fight in Korea. As a result, even after arriving in the war zone, soldiers bitterly questioned their assignment, complaining "I'll fight for my country, but damned if I see why I'm fighting to save this hell hole."[218] By the time Matthew Ridgway took command of the Eighth Army in Korea in late December 1950, the new had completely worn off the war and he discovered that rallying the troops would have to wait until after he explained why their mission mattered and how it related to the homespun values of freedom and democracy.[219]

While the military rested easy in its authority to train men and order them to whatever post seemed most appropriate without explanation or apology, such cavalier treatment did nothing for the morale of those being sent to fight in a war far from home and in fact disregarded the very nature of the American fighting man. The crusade-like nature of World War II's total

[217] "Rougher Training Planned by Army," *New York Times*, 21 August 1950, 11.
[218] "G.I.'s in Korea Handicapped by Unawareness of Mission," *New York Times*, 13 August 1950, 1. In a similar vein, one veteran remembers that "I had absolutely no understanding of it [the war] at all. Zero." John Edward Nolan, interview by J. Cantwell, 29 December 1999, online at American Century Project, St. Andrews Episcopal School Library Archive (www.doingoralhistory.org), 4.
[219] In Korea, Matthew Ridgway found the question "What the hell are we doing in this godforsaken place" much on the minds of his men. Fehrenbach, *This Kind of War*, 300

mobilization perhaps left the Armed Forces with amnesia, allowing them to forget that unlike the forces of many countries, American troops, pulled from the ranks of the citizenry, needed a cause to believe in before making what could turn out to be a total sacrifice.[220] As early as the Revolutionary War, Baron von Steuben had written in explanation of Americans "You say to [a Prussian, French, or Austrian soldier], 'Do this,' and he doeth it. But I am obliged to say [to an American soldier], 'This is the reason why you ought to do that,' and then he does it."[221] In the intervening century and a half, not much had changed and while Americans might have enlisted out of patriotism, vague notions of devotion to country could give only cold comfort to men caught in a "limited" but still very hot war. If they were to serve and fight effectively overseas, Marines, Army infantrymen, pilots, and even sailors needed something more concrete to sustain and encourage them else their only focus would be on the day they could rotate home.[222]

A little under a year into the war, the Department of Defense introduced a new citizenship education program designed to impart servicemen in the Army, Navy, and Air Force with a better understanding of that for which they would be fighting.[223] Developed by the Teachers' College of Columbia, "Hours of Freedom" consisted of one hour sessions, each dealing with a basic concept of democracy. Through lecture, discussion, debate, and dramatization, men would learn the value of an individual in free society, the differences between democracy and communism, people's role in government, and presumably the

[220] For a discussion of American soldiers as a reflection of their society, see Toner, "American Society and the American Way of War."
[221] Baron von Steuben quoted in J. Lawton Collins, *War in Peacetime: The History and Lessons of Korea* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1969), 394.
[222] For a discussion of the American soldier's need for a cause, see Robert H. Leckie, *Conflict: The History of the Korean War, 1950-1953* (New York: Putnam's, 1962), 89 and "G.I.'s in Korea Handicapped by Unawareness of Mission," *New York Times*, 13 August 1950, 1.
[223] It is unclear why Marines did not participate in the program, but more than the other branches of the military the Marines did instill esprit de corps, a motivating factor in its own right.

importance of American involvement in a place as seemingly small and insignificant as Korea.[224] Unfortunately, the new program debuted at Boot Camp, where young trainees crowded into classrooms too tired or bored to concentrate on the material at hand. Also, not infrequently, those in charge of educating the men had little knowledge or experience themselves and no time to prepare.[225] In the end, men continued to filter into Korea throughout the war with almost no information on why they had been sent, a poor recipe for combat effectiveness no matter how complete other training had been.[226]

Men might have had few thoughts on democracy while at training or on the way to war, but they often thought about home and family. The military certainly attempted to make training all-consuming, but for many of those who would serve during the Korean War financial hardship and the problems faced by their families as a result of their military status became real distractions. During World War II, Congress created a system of family allowances to eliminate dependency as a cause for automatic exemption, but such legislation, deemed too costly, had lapsed by the Korean War.[227] As reservists and draftees mustered in, leaving civilian jobs and pay behind, they found it next to impossible to support themselves much less their families on

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[224] "Armed Forces Get Citizenship Course," *New York Times*, 24 April 1951, 19.

[225] In one instance, a 19 year old National Guardsman who had previously been an undertaker's assistant was given the job of lecturing on foreign policy. Benjamin Fine, "'Information' Hour in Army Gives None," *New York Times*, 15 May 1951, 25. Also, Benjamin Fine, "Military Teaching on 'Why' Men Serve Termed a Failure," *New York Times*, 14 May 1951, 1.

[226] After the war many people criticized the military for not adequately indoctrinating troops in why they were fighting and blamed the perceived high incidence of POW collusion at least in part on this training omission. As a result, the *Code of Conduct for Members of the United States Armed Forces* was developed and various branches of the military were charged with presenting it in such a way that servicemen would take it to heart. United States Secretary of Defense's Advisory Committee on Prisoners of War, *POW: The Fight Continues After the Battle*, August 1955, 7 and 31-32, (Bradley Commission): Records 1955-58, A 69-22, Box 82, DDE Library. Also, U. S. Congress, Senate, Committee on Armed Services, *Military Cold War Education and Speech Review Policies*, report prepared by the Special Preparedness Subcommittee, 87th Congress, 2d sess. (Washington, D.C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1962).

[227] Family allowances actually originated during World War I, but did not become widely used until World War II when a new allotment plan gave millions of dollars in cash to the dependents of servicemen. "Selection Process," xiv, (Bradley Commission): Records, 1954-58, A69-22 and 79-6, Box 58, DDE Library and "Military Training for Youth Studied," *New York Times*, 11 August 1950, 8.

the $75 or $85 a month that the military paid them. Despite the 1940 *Soldiers' and Sailors' Relief Act*, which offered protection against the loss of a home should a man be called to active duty, servicemen watched helplessly as creditors foreclosed on their houses and repossessed their belongings leaving wives and children to move in with relatives or fend for themselves.[228] Such was the case with Jim Kasler, Donald Sipes, and Robert Gates. Kasler, an Air Force lieutenant, made so little money even with his flying allotment that his wife and daughter had to move in with his parents.[229] Sipes' wife, left with a one year old and only $20 in her pocket when her Marine Corps reservist husband left for active duty, struggled with the thought that a sewing machine bought on time would soon be repossessed and that a home they had purchased could no longer be afforded but was also in no shape to rent or sell.[230] Similarly, Barbara Gates, mother of two small children, agonized that not only did they lose the home they were purchasing with a G.I. loan when her husband left, but "they took the furniture, too."[231] How could servicemen focus on preparing to fight for their country when they were losing their very hearths and homes in the process?

By August 1950, the realization that America's men at arms desperately needed financial assistance had become widespread. Some states and localities responded quickly, offering cash or other benefits to the dependents of men sent to training or shipped overseas. Washington State began to provide assistance to military wives with minor children through Welfare's Aid to

[228] Under the *Soldiers' and Sailors' Relief Act*, mortgage payments could be waived until a man was discharged and creditors were supposed to get court orders before repossessing homes. Also, landlords could not legally evict servicemen's dependents from dwellings costing less than $80 a month. In reality, the law was often ignored and dependents knew nothing of their rights. "G.I. Legal Aid Need Stressed," *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, 23 August 1950, 5A and "Act Protects Homes of G.I.'s," *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, 14 August 1950, 15.
[229] Luckett and Byler, *Tempered Steel*, 25-26.
[230] "D. A. V. Protests G.I. Kin Treatment," *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, 12 August 1950, 1 and 4.
[231] "Congress Action in Stopping Funds for Dependents Wrecks Homes," *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, 11 August 1950, 1A and "Reserve Answering Call Loses Home," *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, 10 August 1950, 3.

Dependent Children program, convincing federal authorities to match funding.[232] On the national level, President Harry Truman appealed to Congress to make benefit payments to military dependents and both the House and Senate debated various proposals.[233] Ultimately, federal payments from the government to families of the lowest ranks of enlisted men found approval, but servicemen also had to chip in, sending money from their pay home.[234] These allowances relieved some of the pressure felt by servicemen, but as late as 1952 the Senate sought a three percent raise for enlisted men and junior officers who continued to have difficulty supporting their families.[235]

Largely because of the social climate of the 1950s which stressed the American male's role as provider, servicewomen rarely benefited from legislation designed to assist service families. Although paid more equitably in the military than in other sectors of the economy, female members of the Armed Forces found it almost impossible to qualify for the same allowances being handed out to the military dependents of men. The government automatically allotted support to the wives, children, and even parents of male service members, but gave nothing to the husbands or dependent parents of servicewomen.[236] In order to receive dependent benefits for their families, female service members had to prove that they contributed at least half

[232] "State Coming to Aid of G.I. Dependents," *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, 18 August 1950, 1.
[233] "Truman Asks Funds for G.I. Families," Seattle Post-Intelligencer, 16 August 1950, 1. Truman's plan called for families to receive up to $150 a month, part of which would come from the serviceman's paycheck and part of which would be paid by the government.
[234] For coverage of some of the different proposals for allotments, see "Military Training for Youth Studied," *New York Times*, 11 August 1950, 8; "House Votes $85 to $125 Monthly Allowances for G.I.'s, Families," *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, 25 August 1950, 4; and "Congress Units O.K. Payments for Enlisted Men's Families," *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, 18 August 1950, 4.
[235] "3 Percent Raise for Servicemen Passes Senate," *Daily Oklahoman*, 1 April 1952, 12.
[236] Men would have had to provide documentation that they contributed to their parents' support, but wives, regardless of whether or not they had jobs of their own, automatically qualified for support. Restrictions prohibiting mothers of minor children from entering or remaining in service meant that servicewomen had no young dependents to support in the Korean War years.

the support of their loved ones. Not until the 1970s would this discriminatory application of military allotments be challenged.[237]

Given quarters pay and other perks, officers usually had less cause to worry about money than the average G.I., but those headed to the battlefront sometimes had good reason to wonder whether they remained too "green" for war. Many avenues existed for becoming a commissioned officer, not all of which provided a solid military education. The United States Military Academy at West Point and other service schools as well as OCS proved rigorous and exacting, an excellent preparation for Korea or anywhere else a soldier might end up, but R.O.T.C. and other programs could at times be less so. Also, even if an R.O.T.C. program challenged its members, they might not enter the regular service until much later. One second lieutenant stationed in Japan by mid-1950 reflected that he had "experienced not a single day of active duty or training since the ROTC days at Purdue in 1948" and had been sworn in as a regular Army officer simply on the basis of having completed a graduate degree.[238] Such officers could only turn to their outfit's seasoned NCOs for help and hope that they learned fast enough to lead their men in war.

Doctors and other specialists could get rank with even less military instruction. Hank Litvin enlisted in a Navy program for doctors which gave ensign's pay in return for two years of Navy service after residency. Before he could go through Boot Camp or receive any training or indoctrination at all, Litvin ended up at Inchon where a supply clerk issued him a rifle and the unsought and unwanted opportunity for on-the-job training.[239] More fortunate medical personnel did attend a short basic training before shipping overseas, but that did not mean that the military

[237] Betsy B. McKenny, "Frontiero v. Richardson: Characterization of Sex-Based Classifications," *Columbia Human Rights Law Review* 6:1 (Spring 1974): 239-247.
[238] Terry Addison, *The Battle for Pusan: A Korean War Memoir* (Novato, CA: Presidio, 2000), 1.
[239] Hank Litvin, email to Melinda Pash, 17 June 2004, in author's possession.

had prepared them for all of their new duties.[240] Many doctors and nurses arrived at MASH units or hospital ships with little knowledge of field medicine, surprised to find that their particular specialty mattered far less than the ability to learn fast and fill in where needed.[241] In Korea, general practitioners became anesthesiologists or VD officers and surgeons operated literally by the book, performing procedures that they had never even seen done.[242] Unfortunately for both the Armed Forces and the young soldiers counting on military doctors to piece them together again, the rotation system left doctors in the war zone for only about a year. By the time a doctor became really useful, the military replaced him with an untrained and unskilled newcomer.

Throughout the Korean Conflict, all branches of the military did what the government expected by churning out enough servicemen and servicewomen to alleviate the manpower shortage and keep the war effort alive. To accomplish this, however, the Armed Forces all too often trained officers and enlisted men with haste, heedless of the fundamental needs of trainees. Soldiers would fight simply to avoid being killed, officers would lead despite inexperience, and doctors would try to save lives without knowledge of combat medicine, but shortcuts in training left many American troops less motivated and effective than they could have been. Asked to make their lives forfeit, to leave their families behind come what may, those sent to Korea deserved to be trained not adequately, but well, and their sacrifices warranted an explanation of why their mission mattered.

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[240] "2348 Medical Men Register in Draft," *New York Times*, 17 October 1950, 14.
[241] Otto F. Apel and Pat Apel, *M*A*S*H: An Army Surgeon in Korea* (U.S.: University Press of Kentucky, 1998), 98.
[242] Dr. Hermes Grillo, Interview by G. Kurt Piehler and Crystal Dover, 8 July 2002, 25-34, Veterans' Oral History Project, Center for the Study of War and Society, University of Tennessee, Knoxville, TN.

Beyond the Mechanics of Warfare: Training and Race

From the standpoint of the United States Armed Forces in the late 1940s and early 1950s, military training existed only to create competent service members, not to alter prevailing societal attitudes or to effect social change. Thus when President Truman issued Executive Order 9981 in 1948, requiring an end to racial discrimination in the military, most of the services responded glacially, refusing to integrate anything, much less their training camps. Led by Secretary of the Army Kenneth Royall and Army Chief of Staff Omar Bradley, the Army argued that segregation did not constitute discrimination and need not be ended.[243] Following suit, the Marine Corps and Navy refused to mix white and black troops.[244] Only the Air Force, led by Stuart Symington, accepted the order and quickly began to phase out all-black units and end racial preference as a factor in personnel policies.[245] But, by the end of 1950, domestic political pressures and then manpower needs in Korea eroded resistance to desegregation and all branches of the service started to integrate at least basic training.[246] Born primarily of military necessity,

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[243] Richard F. Haynes, *The Awesome Power: Harry S. Truman as Commander in Chief* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1973), 91.

[244] *Ibid.*, 90-92 and Morris J. MacGregor, Jr., *Integration of the Armed Forces, 1940-1965* (Washington, D.C.: Center of Military History, U. S. Army, 1981), 461.

[245] Haynes, *The Awesome Power*, 91. By February 1950, 71% of African Americans in the Air Force belonged to mixed units. Dennis Cushman, *African-Americans and the Quest for Civil Rights, 1900-1990* (New York: New York University Press, 1991), 101 and E. W. Kenworthy to Eric Severeid, 24 February 1950, Box "Desegregation of the Armed Forces, Box 1," CFSOKW.

[246] The Fahy Committee elicited concessions from the various services, but stateside integration increased with the need to train ever larger numbers of draftees and recruits for Korea. In the best of times, segregation posed administrative challenges, but in war it became dangerously burdensome and inefficient. In 1950 the Navy integrated everything from basic training to messes and sleeping quarters. Sean Cushman, *African-Americans and the Quest for Civil Rights*, 101. In January 1950, the Army abolished racial quotas and by August local commanders independently and haphazardly began integrating training. Dalfiume, *Desegregation of the Armed Forces*, 201-203 and Major Steve G. Davis, Human Relations and Research Branch, Military Personnel Management Division, G-1, Memo, "Integration of Negro Personnel," 1-2, NA, RG 319, Box 7. The Marine Corps began assigning men according to their specialty in 1949 and eliminated segregation in basic training in 1950, but continued to maintain separate black units in the field. MacGregor, *Integration of the Armed Forces*, 461 and Haynes, *The Awesome*

changes in the racial composition of troops at Boot Camp or other training sites had little effect on military infrastructure, but did greatly impact individual troops. Suddenly and intimately exposed to persons of other races, trainees learned lessons that went well beyond the mere mechanics of warfare.

For all its trappings of a modern industrial country—large cities, a proliferation of factories and businesses, a visible and active scientific community—America in 1950 remained astonishingly parochial. Individuals and families, of course, had moved around both during and after the Second World War, but most Americans still knew little about people and places beyond their own street corners and neighborhoods. Except perhaps in larger metropolitan areas where the fabled melting pot more closely resembled real life, people drew lines to keep themselves separate from those who looked or seemed different from themselves. In particular, and most especially in the South, racial separation maintained a not quite invisible and almost unbridgeable chasm between white citizens and others. Thus when men and women followed the beat of Uncle Sam's drum to newly integrating training centers during the Korean War, they could only guess at what life would be like shared with people from the other side of the line.

Carefully packed among the toothbrushes, underwear, and other personal possessions, most recruits and trainees carried with them to training camp their own ideas about Americans of other colors. White troops often took for granted that African Americans would be dirty, foul-mouthed, lacking in self-control, and untrustworthy in combat.[247] And, the stereotypes did not always end there. Asked in 1950 how he felt about integration, one twenty year old private

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Power, 92. Unlike the regular services, the National Guard delayed integration longer and in 1950 had few black members, most belonging to segregated units. Donnelly, *Under Army Orders*, 12.

[247] Leo Bogart, ed., *Project Clear: Social Research and the Desegregation of the United States Army* (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 1992), 39. Starting as early as World War II, the Army actually sponsored several studies to gauge troop attitudes toward integration. Researchers used both questionnaires and personal interviews to elicit responses.

replied that blacks were human but shouldn't be mixed with white soldiers because "some of them, the bestest [*sic*] percent, are still like Head Hunters. They have bad blood, some of them are like animals."[248] A few whites did voice the opinion that the "Negro soldier has the right to rate the same as any other man no matter what," but a greater number resented the very idea of sharing sleeping quarters or a mess hall with blacks.[249] For their part, African Americans often entered service with the notion that no matter how well they performed white comrades and superiors would never give them the credit they deserved. For others, especially those who had experienced Jim Crow first hand, negative feelings ran deeper and some freely admitted "I hate white people."[250]

Entering the Armed Forces did not automatically erase trainees' personal biases on the issue of race, but in general Boot Camp and other training centers offered little opportunity for men or women to act upon such prejudices. Regardless of what one might have preferred, from the moment of swearing in recruits and inductees had no alternative but to do things the military way—even if that meant bunking, eating, or sweating with someone of a different color. And, as the process of turning civilians into "Government Issue" continued, new habits and ideas began to supplant those so carefully brought along by trainees from home.[251] As black and white soldiers shared tents, meals, conversation, and the rigors of training, they discovered a multitude of similarities and often developed not only a new tolerance for one another, but also interracial friendships.[252] White trainees, at first resentful of being placed in interracial outfits or barracks,

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[248] W. Thompson, Memo to Mr. Nash, "The Confidential Report of the Survey of Troop Attitude Toward Integration," 20 March 1950, 12, "Desegregation of the Armed Forces, Box 2 of 2," Box 20, CFSOKW.
[249] 18 year old recruit quoted in *Ibid*., 11. Also, Bogart, *Project Clear*, 181.
[250] Quoted in Bogart, *Project Clear*, 98-9.
[251] Bernard Nalty, *Strength for the Fight: A History of Black Americans in the Military* (New York: The Free Press, 1986), 271.
[252] For a discussion of this, see Bogart, *Project Clear*, 95-96 and 180.

came out of the experience averring that "now some of my best friends are of the Negro race. I can see no reason at all why colored and white cannot get along together in the Army."[253] Some concluded that it "is all in your mind….If you can live with whites you can live with most colored."[254] Even national guardsmen "changed my thinking… [blacks are] just the same as we are."[255] As Charles Moskos noted, "The thickness of a man's lips is not a factor if he offers you a drink from his canteen in the Texas desert."[256] African Americans underwent a similar transformation in racial attitudes. The enlisted man who hated white people went on to say that "if all white people were like the boys in this company it wouldn't take long before everybody would get along well."[257] Indeed, Southerners marveled at "the amiability of the white and colored here [on the military reservation]."[258] As servicemen and servicewomen of different colors trained and spent time together, they became more accepting of individual comrades and more positive about desegregating the military as a whole.[259]

Racially mixed training also produced troops more favorable toward integration in general. Having spent a good deal of time at basic training getting used to the idea of associating freely with soldiers of many colors and nationalities, men and women, both black and white, who

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[253] *Ibid*., 182.
[254] *Ibid*., 181.
[255] *Ibid*.
[256] Charles C. Moskos, Jr., "Has the Army Killed Jim Crow?" *Negro History Bulletin* 21 (November 1957), 28.
[257] Bogart, *Project Clear*, 98-99.
[258] Quoted in "Letter from a Neophyte Infantryman of the 5th Division," GI Interviews, NA, 319, Box 011.
[259] Various studies commissioned by the military in the 1940s and 1950s back up this assertion. A survey conducted in May-June 1945 found that before serving alongside blacks, 64% of white officers and non commissioned officers expressed skepticism about working with African Americans. 77% of those, however, became more favorable after actually working with blacks. Army Service Forces, Information and Education Division, "Opinions about Negro Infantry Platoons in White Companies of 7 Divisions," 3 July 1945, 2, "Desegregation of the Armed Forces," Box 1, CFSOKW. *Project Clear* found that mixed training made men more favorable toward integration later. Of whites in all white units who had prior exposure, 38% favored integration versus 32% of men without mixed training experience. Of whites in integrated units who had prior mixed training, 44% supported integration versus 37% of those who had not gone through mixed training. Bogart, *Project Clear*, 92. Other factors such as educational level, pre-military exposure to other races, and combat experience also influenced whether or not one supported integration.

ended up at southern duty stations found themselves indignant at the existing inequalities of Jim Crow communities. Suddenly it seemed strange to them that bus stations, airports, movie theaters, and even municipal buildings had "white only" and "colored only" water fountains, restrooms, entrances, and sections. They resented the local customs and laws which prevented friends who dined and drank together on post from sitting together on the bus to town and from frequenting the same bars or restaurants once there. While the various services accepted the segregation and discrimination just outside their gates, troops who through integrated training had been taught to judge worth by character rather than color sometimes had trouble leading this double life. Some argued that the South, like the Army, should simply be integrated, that after a time people there "would accept the American Negro as an individual who is only reaping the benefits of those rights due him under the Constitution of the United States."[260] Others took a more active approach. In San Antonio, white servicemen ordered food for their black buddy who by prearrangement was to join them at a white restaurant.[261] Lieutenant Thomas Williams, a pilot in training at Craig Air Force Base, refused to sit in the colored section of a bus traveling from Florida to Alabama, stating that he did not feel obligated to obey laws which were unconstitutional.[262] Gilbert Branche, sent to Biloxi, Mississippi by the Air Force, ignored a shoe store clerk when told not to try on any shoes because white folks would not buy anything tried on by a black man.[263] In Columbus, Georgia, men headed to and returning from Korea rioted in response to police brutality toward black soldiers and the beating of a uniformed African

[260] Private J. B. Black quoted in "GI Integration Answers Governor Jimmy Byrnes," *Pittsburgh Courier*, 27 March, 1954, 17.
[261] Nalty, *Strength for the Fight*, 267.
[262] Williams, a reserve officer returned to duty for the Korean War, was expelled from the Air Force after this incident. The NAACP charged the Air Force with continuing to reprimand African Americans who failed to bow to Southern customs despite Supreme Court rulings such as that against segregation in interstate travel. "Press Release for Monday Morning, November 23, 1953, NAACP," NA, RG 319, Box 8.
[263] Gilbert M. Branche, *Korean War Veteran Survey*, 4, CFSOKW.

American by white policemen at a night club.[264] Throughout the Korean War era, incidents like these proved few and insignificant—acts of civil disobedience belonging more to a later generation—but they clearly illustrate the changing viewpoints of men and women trained in integrated settings. Boot Camp did not necessarily educate trainees to become social radicals, but the close contact it provided between the races did chip away at stereotypes and foster expectations of a more integrated world.[265]

Certainly not all of those who went through mixed training altered their original ideas about people of a different color. Moreover, even within the military integration faced difficulties. As late as 1951, at least one Army base, Fort Bragg, North Carolina, had yet to implement anything other than token integration and at other locations tensions between black and white troops actually erupted in violence.[266] Additionally, even if trainees accepted a more racially diverse corps, officers and noncoms sometimes resisted the changes ordered from above. One Army Division Commander when asked about integration replied that "It's God's law of the fish in the sea, the birds in the air, the animals on land. You don't mix them."[267] In Fort Jackson, South Carolina, two white sergeants brutally beat an eighteen year old black private and at Camp Atterbury officials allowed the 31st Infantry (Dixie) Division Military Band to wear

[264] From Fort Benning, the rioters were paratroopers and newspaper accounts suggest that their training had prepared them to deal fearlessly with any situation. "Brutalities Reported in Columbus, GA," *Pittsburgh Courier*, 12 May 1951, 1.
[265] Mixed training, as already noted, had a huge impact on racial attitudes. Of even more importance, though, would be integrated combat experiences. Fighting together forged strong bonds between soldiers of different races. Bogart, *Project Clear*, 91.
[266] Collins S. George, "Jim Crow is Still King at Fort Bragg," *Pittsburgh Courier*, 12 May 1951, 1. Fort Dix and Fort Leonard Wood also proved slow to embrace integration. Robert C. Doty, "Moon Still Bright as Rookies Arise," *New York Times*, 1 September 1950, 6 and Bill Smith, "Black Soldiers Fully Shared Korean War's Bloody Cost," *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, 20 February 2002, A1. As late as 1954 African American newspapers reported that West Point discriminated against blacks. "Jim Crow at Point," *Pittsburgh Courier*, 6 March 1954, 5. In March 1951, white and black troops engaged in a fight at Camp Rucker, Alabama. "Army Won't Punish GIs in Ala. Riot," *Pittsburgh Courier*, 24 March 1951, 3. It is interesting to note that despite problems, successes in integration existed. By October 1951, Fort Bragg boasted the South's first integrated elementary schools. "Army Runs Unsegregated School at Ft. Bragg, N.C.," *Pittsburgh Courier*, 27 October 1951, 20.
[267] Bogart, *Project Clear*, 167.

gray uniforms reminiscent of Confederate attire.[268] Sent to Fort Leonard Wood, Missouri for Boot Camp, Stanley Stone wrote his mother that the Army discriminated against blacks by forbidding them to go into any of the nearby towns and that "we are being trained by some Negro hating white officers who are Southern bred…we are cursed at and berated and the Southern Negroes here are afraid to move."[269] Leadership and circumstance could make all the difference in how men who trained together felt about each other.

To its credit, though, the military did try to prevent such racial incidents and uphold its commitment to institutional integration and equality of service. On posts throughout the country, PXs, movie theaters, and even swimming pools ceased to operate on a segregated basis. Men and women who worked together during the day found themselves able to socialize on their own time as well. Troops did not always take advantage of this opportunity. On some reservations, blacks and whites informally divided up recreational facilities or limited their use to service members, especially if the potential existed for men and women to come into close contact. Often clubs became segregated on dance nights or sponsors enforced the unwritten rule that men would dance only with partners of their own color.[270] Whatever impact integrated training had on the racial attitudes of trainees, it seldom prepared them for unbridled social integration. The most liberal might espouse equality yet still affirm "I don't think they should marry one another…but that's all."[271]

For African Americans, mixed training in the 1950s sent mixed messages. On the one hand, from the moment of swearing in black men and women could expect to be treated just as

[268] "Convict Non-Coms For Abuse of GI," *Pittsburgh Courier*, 6 March 1954, 5 and "Army OKs Uniforms of 'Rebels,'" *Pittsburgh Courier*, 10 May 1952, 5.
[269] RCT Stanley Stone to his mother, 7 December 1950, NA, RG 319, Box 7.
[270] Bogart, *Project Clear*, 240-248.
[271] *Ibid*., 227.

any other recruit or draftee, a rare luxury in an America still divided by color. They would proceed to processing, be issued clothing, enter basic training, and eventually receive an assignment based on their skills and performance.[272] With few ratings now restricted, blacks could even move into positions where they gave orders to whites—a situation deemed "nothing less than a miracle" by veteran Reuben Carter.[273] But, after being trained alongside whites, African Americans could then find themselves assigned to all black units.[274] Throughout the Korean War, the Army maintained segregated units and even re-segregated some units.[275] Also, both during and after training, African Americans learned that military protections ended the moment they stepped off the base. All branches of the military demanded that service members bow to sectional customs, including segregation, or face the consequences alone. Commanding officers in the South passed out maps of local communities showing black troops which neighborhoods, streets, and sections of town they could go to and warning that anyone breaking the rules would be at the mercy of the local police.[276] Townspeople in some places bragged that "When the colored [soldiers] come to town, they conform to the way we do things."[277] Taking a lassiez-faire approach to relations between nearby communities and uniformed blacks, the military even declined to intervene when locals clearly mistreated soldiers off post. In

[272] Moskos, "Has the Army Killed Jim Crow?," 28.
[273] Quoted in Kimberley L. Phillips, "All I Ever Wanted Was a Steady Job," in John Russo and Sherry Lee Linkon, eds., *New Working-Class Studies* (New York: Cornell University Press, 2005), 48. Also see "Race GIs Taking Advantage of Armed Forces Training," *Pittsburgh Courier*, 5 January 1952, 12.
[274] Curtis Morrow mentions feeling unnerved at being re-segregated when it came time to fight in Korea. Curtis James Morrow, *What's a Commie Ever Done to Black People? A Korean War Memoir of Fighting in the U.S. Army's Last All Negro Unit* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland and Company, n.d.), 4.
[275] In an interesting 1955 case, a white draftee, James Staebler, won a general discharge under honorable conditions. Staebler, sent as part of a May 1953 initiative to integrate an all-black laundry company, protested Army efforts to re-segregate the 200 member group, saying that integration worked. In response, the Army declared Staebler a threat and gave him an "undesirable security risk discharge." Peter Kihss, "Discharge Ruling Changed by Army," *New York Times*, 25 September 1955, 19.
[276] When Gilbert Branche arrived in Biloxi, Mississippi, his captain issued him a map, telling him to be out of certain areas by dusk or be arrested. Gilbert M. Branche, Interview by Melinda Pash, 3 March 2005.
[277] A white southern politician in 1951 quoted in Peter Karsten, *Soldiers and Society: The Effects of Military Service and War on American Life* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1978), 96-7.

Columbus, Georgia, police routinely terrorized black servicemen, beating them, taking their money, jailing and fining them, and warning them to stay out of town—and yet the Army did nothing.[278] At a Greyhound Bus terminal in Memphis, Tennessee, policemen beat Corporal Jonathan Thomas on the head with a nightstick when he answered "Yeah" instead of "Yes Sir" when they asked if he had a ticket.[279] White townspeople forced Sergeant Herbert Bradshaw from his car at gunpoint in Brownsville, Tennessee, dragged him to a building, and had a civilian beat him with a pop bottle as four police officers looked on. Tellingly, protests of Bradshaw's treatment came not from the military but from the NAACP.[280] Southern military installations might themselves have been perfect examples of integration and racial harmony, but during the Korean War era, the Armed Forces did little to ensure fair treatment to its members off post.[281] Integrated training and service instilled many African Americans with a new pride and sense of worth, but the realization that their equality—even from the military standpoint—ended at the reservation gates left them bitterly aware that in the real world they remained simply black.

The military had only one goal when conducting training, to produce more effective infantrymen, sailors, and airmen. But, the very nature of the process, tearing down civilian identities and rebuilding individuals, left men and women more open to new ideas and experiences. When boot camps and basic training integrated in the late 1940s and early 1950s, the Armed Forces merely saw the development as an easy way to boost efficiency, but for the tens of thousands of recruits of all colors who learned to live together it became a mild

[278] William A. Fowlkes, "Brutalities Reported in Columbus, GA," *Pittsburgh Courier*, 12 May 1951, 1.
[279] "GI Learns that 'Yassuh' is Required in Memphis," *Pittsburgh Courier*, 3 March 1951, 13.
[280] "GI Victim of Dixie Mob Rule," *Pittsburgh Courier*, 27 January 1951, 1.
[281] Not long after the Korean War the military did in fact begin to attack segregation in towns and cities adjacent to installations. Local commanders began making segregated recreational facilities off limits, forcing owners to integrate or go out of business. Similarly, the Department of Defense enlisted federal assistance in integrating the public schools receiving federal funding in exchange for accommodating the needs of military dependents.

revolution. Perhaps unintentionally the Army, Air Force, Navy, and Marines imparted a new attitude toward racial equality along with weapons training and close order drills. Not all servicemen and servicewomen took the lesson to heart, but along with battlefield experiences, mixed training influenced many who returned to civilian life to envision a less monochromatic future for America.

Ready for Duty

The weeks or months of training may have seemed to last forever, but for every soldier, sailor, airman, and Marine the time eventually came to report for duty. Most hoped for a lucky break—stateside orders to keep them safe and sound or perhaps assignment to some European post where they could see the world and while away the time owed to Uncle Sam. War in Korea, though, meant that many of those completing basic or advanced training in the early 1950s began their military adventure aboard a crowded troopship bound for the Far East.

Men destined for Japan or Korea usually had only days to prepare for departure and much to do.[282] All civilian clothing and personal effects except for handheld musical instruments, radios, or cameras had to be sent home. Since cars could not be driven to the point of embarkation, they too had to be sold or stored.[283] Medical and dental records had to be updated and farewells had to be said.[284] Some men hurried home for a few days with family or friends or

[282] GIs usually received a two week "delay en route" before having to arrive at a new duty station.
[283] "Most of 45th to Get Leave Before Sailing," *Daily Oklahoman*, 27 February 1951, 1.
[284] Men leaving from Schofield Barracks remember that time was so short that dentists simply pulled teeth instead of filling cavities. See Irwin Cockett in Baldovi, ed., *Foxhole View*, 8.

to marry their sweethearts before shipping out.[285] A few attended parades given in their honor by hometown folks.[286] Still others made the most of the freedom they had left by hitting bars and clubs and forgetting for a moment what lay ahead. Then, just as they had before basic training, men piled into buses, trains, and "cattle cars," this time on their way to the piers at San Diego or Seattle.[287]

For the first time in a long time, the men could relax and reflect upon where they had come from and where they were headed. Thoughts of home like freight cars hooked to an overnight express sped through their minds as did a million questions. Would home be as sweet when they returned in a year or two—if they returned at all? Would other neighborhood kids grow up and join the Army? Why had they been chosen to serve when many others had successfully defied the draft? What would it be like to live or maybe die so far away from remembered streets and familiar faces? Had the military already changed them? The answers could only come later and for some they would not come at all.

Eventually those slated for overseas service reached the docks. As they boarded the ships, crowds cheered them and bands played in their honor. Sometimes officers addressed the moving sea of olive drab. "God bless you, soldiers. You are the best-fed, best-equipped, and best informed army in the world. Complete your mission and we will be here to welcome you

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[285] Just as during World War II, the Korean War served to hurry nuptials. Feeling that their time was short, couples quickly tied the knot before men shipped overseas. Jessica Weiss, *To Have and To Hold: Marriage, the Baby Boom, and Social Change* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000), 22. For a personal account, see Martin Pestana in Baldovi, ed. *A Foxhole View*, 10.

[286] This was especially true for National Guard troops whose home communities frequently gave them a huge and emotional send-off. When Oklahoma's 45th Division got overseas orders, locals put on an hour long parade complete with an address by the Governor who assured those in attendance that "I felt a feeling of pride to see these fine men march by…you feel that way when you see your own men going away…and I'm not afraid for the future of this country when I look into their faces…I'm proud." "Marching Boots Crunch 45th Farewell," *Daily Oklahoman*, 27 March 1951, 1.

[287] The Marine Corps used "cattle cars" to transport men from the Staging Regiment at Camp Pendleton to the Navy Pier in San Diego. These were semi-trailers with wooden benches along each side and down the middle. Each carried about 45 men with packs and rifles. Ballenger, *The Final Crucible*, 12.

home."[288] Then, troopships pulled out of the harbor with courses set for the land of morning calm and men standing on the decks waving goodbye and wondering if they would ever see home again.

Even for men accustomed to military life, troopships offered some nasty surprises. Living quarters consisted of bunks stacked four or five deep floor to ceiling and about eighteen inches apart. The narrow aisles soon became cluttered with seabags, field packs, and weapons. Helmets, though, proved in short supply. Men unused to sailing soon became violently seasick, vomiting into whatever they had handy. For days, the latrines remained occupied with helplessly sick soldiers. At the mess hall, which consisted of rows of waist-high counters that men stood at while eating, the floor became a gross mixture of spilled food, water, trays, and vomit. Weather permitting, men stayed on deck to avoid the putrid smells and sights of the ship.[289]

Most men eventually developed sea legs on the two to three week journey, but they still looked forward to dry land, no matter if that put them closer to the war. Upon arriving in Japan or Korea, everyone rushed to the deck to catch a glimpse of the Asiatic landscape. Soldiers gaped in awe at the rugged beauty before them. "Its [Korea's] mountains and trees seemed to come right down to the water's edge. Of course, if we had any inkling the hell that was awaiting us there we might not have thought it so beautiful."[290] Soldiers prepared to disembark. The time had come to put their military training to the test.

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[288] Wolfe, *Cold Ground's Been My Bed*, 73.
[289] Many personal accounts go into great detail about life aboard the troopship. See Bernstein, *Monsters and Angels*, 217-249; Ballenger, The Final Crucible, 12-14; and George Tsegletos, *As I Recall: A Marine's Personal Story* (Bloomington, IN: 1st Books, 2003), 2-3.
[290] Harold Mulhausen and James Edwin Alexander, *Korea: Memoirs of a U.S. Marine* (Oklahoma City: Macedon Publishing Company, 1995), 14.

CHAPTER 4: IN COUNTRY IN KOREA—A WAR LIKE ANY OTHER?

"Americans in 1950 rediscovered something that they had forgotten; you may fly over a land forever; you may bomb it, atomize it, pulverize it, and wipe it clean of life—but if you desire to defend it, protect it, and keep it for civilization, you must do this on the ground the way the Roman legions did, by putting your young men in the mud."—T. R. Fehrenbach.[1]

"I keep asking myself what I am doing here. The funny thing is I can't answer my own question."— 19 year old corporal in Korea.[2]

"They may call this a police action, but men are loseing there [sic] lives the same as in the last war. We are fighting here for the freedom of the people, the same as in World War II. Why are we any different from the 'G.I.' of the last war?"—Letter to Senator Robert A. Taft from men on the line.[3]

"I have one request. If I don't survive, please don't leave me to rot in Korea. When the Army permits, let me come home to rest."—Sergeant Robert Jamieson in a letter home.[4]

"My memories aren't of gallantry or brave deeds that won a battle, but they do represent a good number of guys who did their assigned duties and performed much-needed services during the Korean War."—Korean War veteran.[5]

"My war was one of long periods of boredom with a few flashes of intense terror. I returned safe and sound to a nation that did not seem to know I had ever been gone."—Korean War veteran.[6]

With memories of World War II still playing in their heads, newspaper reporters canvassed Korea throughout the Korean War in search of "human interest" stories for hometown readers. No doubt they hoped and expected to find troops filled with the same patriotic spirit and singleness of purpose as in the last war, but the tired and ragged young soldiers they encountered simply could not supply the pithy anecdotes that would have made such good reading back in Gainesville, Texas or Old Forge, Pennsylvania. Arriving in country, servicemen, and, in the case of military nurses assigned to the war theater, servicewomen, often took a dim view of the land

[1] T. R. Fehrenbach, *This Kind of War: A Study in Unpreparedness* (New York: Macmillan, 1963), 3.
[2] Quoted in Richard J. H. Johnston, "G.I.'s in Korea Handicapped by Unawareness of Mission," *New York Times*, 13 August 1950, 1.
[3] See Sergeant Edward W. Moffett, Sergeant First Class William H. Bloss, and Sergeant Wade H. Beans to Senator Robert A. Taft, 15 May 1951, Papers of Robert A. Taft, Sr., Box 1077, Library of Congress. (Hereafter Taft Papers, LOC)
[4] Sergeant Robert Jamieson, Letter home, 29 July 1950, quoted in Louis Baldovi, ed., *A Foxhole View: Personal Accounts of Hawaii's Korean War Veterans* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2002), 29.
[5] B. A. "Gus" Wentz, quoted in Linda Granfield, *I Remember Korea: Veterans Tell Their Stories of the Korean War, 1950-1953* (New York: Clarion Books, 2003), 20.
[6] Arnoldo A. Muniz, quoted in Granfield, *I Remember Korea*, 33-35.

Uncle Sam had called them to defend. Few had ever seen such poverty. Here existed a place where to own a shovel made a person rich, where orphaned children survived by eating garbage, and where the stench of human waste permeated every breath.[7] Even those most sympathetic to the Korean people had to wonder what such a place could be worth. Not surprisingly, then, when asked what they were fighting for, troops seldom mustered the bravado for the kinds of answers journalists wanted to hear. Instead they insisted "I'll fight for my country, but damned if I see why I'm fighting to save this hell hole" or "I'm here because the goddam president of the United States would put me in jail if I didn't report for duty."[8] They asked themselves over and over, "What the hell am I doing here? Why should I be fighting for this stinkin' rice paddy?"[9] And, like one nineteen year old corporal who found himself in Korea during the early months of the war, too many of those in the war zone discovered that "I can't answer my own question."[10]

Hastily pulled from civilian life, with its baseball games and high school dances, or from the somewhat sedentary peacetime American military, the men and women stuck at ground view during the Korean War can be forgiven for not immediately understanding the reasons for their sacrifices or the forces which swept them to that remote corner of Asia. An abbreviated, limited, half-won, seldom remembered conflict, Americans today, more than half a century later, still grapple with America's first hot war of the Cold War. What justified American involvement in

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[7] Numerous veterans' accounts describe the utter poverty of Korea as well as the unsanitary living conditions. See Seymour Bernstein, *Monsters and Angels: Surviving a Career in Music* (U. S.: Hal Leonard, 2002), 265-267; Mattie Donnell Hicks, Interview by Hermann J. Trojanowski, 25 February 1999, WVHP, OHC, UNCG, 5; Raymond Sturgeon in John Darrell Sherwood, *Officers in Flight Suits: the Story of American Air Force Fighter Pilots in the Korean War* (New York: New York University Press, 1996),118-120; and Aubrey Loving, Interview by Natalie Shocklee, in Virginia Havard, ed., *By Word of Mouth* (Lufkin, TX: Lufkin High School, Kwik Kopy Printing, 1990), 20-21.

[8] Richard J. H. Johnston, "G.I.'s in Korea Handicapped by Unawareness of Mission," *New York Times*, 13 August 1950, 1 and Frank Bifulk in Joseph R. Owen, *Colder Than Hell: A Marine Rifle Company at Chosin Reservoir* (Annapolis, MD: Naval Institute Press, 1996), 175.

[9] Private First Class Peter Santella, quoted in Henry Berry, *Hey Mac, Where Ya Been? Living Memories of the U. S. Marines in the Korean War* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1988), 220.

[10] Johnston, "G.I.'s in Korea Handicapped by Unawareness of Mission," *New York Times*, 13 August 1950, 1.

Korea? What were the political implications for the United States? How can victory be measured? Who really won and by how much? Frequently, though, Korea ends up only in the footnotes of other, longer or more successful wars and even scholars sometimes settle for citing the numbers: Almost 6 million men and women served in the United States Armed Forces from June 1950 to July 1953, the Korean War era, but only 1,789,000 actually went to the Korean theater. Of those, 36,940 died in country, 92,134 suffered non-fatal wounds, and 8,176 ended up missing in action.[11] But, beyond the statistics, it has become clearer in the last fifty years just how and why American troops ended up on the Korean Peninsula in 1950 and perhaps why they remain stationed there today.

Before World War II, America had little interest in Korea, the small, backward colony of Japan. It possessed a certain barren beauty in the form of rough, jagged ridgelines, but aside from a few dams built to produce hydroelectric power and some stretches of Japanese rail lines, Korea had little to offer monetarily or strategically to the United States.[12] After World War II, Korea was the same—a country of dirt roads and populations living on the edge, mired in poverty and illiteracy and susceptible to devastating waves of diseases—but now the world looked different to policymakers in Washington. The fall of the Nazis and Imperial Japan should have made the world a safer place, but instead it merely divided nations into two very polarized

[11] Statistics for the Korean War can be found in a number of places and occasionally they vary slightly. See Tom Heuertz, "The Korean War + 50: No Longer Forgotten, Teaching Resources," Box FF "A.0957-A.0986," Folder A.0974, Center for the Study of the Korean War, Graceland University, Independence, Missouri (hereafter CFSOKW) and "Section XI: Mortality and Combat Service," "Section 11," 1, U. S. President's Commission on Veterans Pensions (Bradley Commission): Records, 1954-58, A 69-22 and 79-6, Box 61, Dwight David Eisenhower Library, Abilene, Kansas (hereafter Bradley Commission and DDE Library).

[12] For further descriptions of Korea, see James L. Stokesbury, *A Short History of the Korean War* (New York: William Morrow and Company, 1988), 21-24; Walter LaFeber, "Truman and Foreign Policy: The Korean War," in Robert D. Marcus and David Burner, eds., *America Since 1945*, 2d ed. (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1977), 39; Fehrenbach, *This Kind of War*, 10-11; and Captain Janice Albert, "Air Evacuation From Korea—A Typical Flight," *The Military Surgeon* 112:4 (April 1953), 256. Many veterans' accounts of the war also include descriptions of the country.

camps, those who believed in "free" government and those who adhered to the doctrines of communism. As the allies dismantled Japan's Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere, the United States had to decide what to do about these territories, whether to move in and block Soviet influences or risk losing them to communism forever.

The choice seemed clear, even for places as seemingly remote and irrelevant as Korea. Thus, American units, like their Russian counterparts, moved into Korea even before World War II officially ended. In a sort of gentleman's agreement, the uneasy allies accepted a temporary split of Korea at the 38th Parallel, with the thought that the country eventually would be reunited. Until then, Russians would remain above the line and Americans would stay below it. Unfortunately for the Koreans, time brought no resolution to the tensions between the United States and the Soviet Union and what had begun as a temporary division hardened into a separated Korea. In North Korea, Kim Il Sung created his own little communist state while in South Korea Syngman Rhee leaned heavily on U. S. aid to fashion a pro-American country if not exactly a democratic one.[13] Satisfied enough with the status quo and confident that it would stick, the United States began withdrawing servicemen until the last 7500 troops left in mid-1949, leaving only a token number of Americans in Korea to staff the Korean Military Advisory Group (KMAG).[14]

While the Americans and Russians seemed complacent about the arrangement in Korea, neither North nor South Korea shared that contentment as both still dreamed of unifying the

[13] Rhee's government, while loosely fitting the democratic mold, can not be considered a democracy. Rhee employed fraud and even repression to remain in power. However, Rhee's government remained dependent upon and friendly to the United States and in the end that, combined with the fact that South Korea did not turn to communism, proved enough to make it worth saving.

[14] For more detailed coverage of these events, see Fehrenbach, *This Kind of War*, 18-33; Stokesbury, *A Short History of the Korean War*, 24-31; Jerald A. Combs, *The History of American Foreign Policy* (new York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1986), 340-345; and Max Hastings, *The Korean War* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1987), 23-45.

country. Finally, after years of border skirmishes, Kim Il Sung made his move, sending the North Korean People's Army, or the Inmun Gun, over the border in the early morning hours of June 25, 1950. Composed of hardened veterans fresh from fighting in China and supplied with modern weaponry, including Russian-built T-34 tanks, the Inmun Gun quickly crushed the far inferior and underequipped South Korean forces it encountered and began a quick march south.[15] President Harry Truman found himself in much the same position he had occupied in 1945. Should he let South Korea fall into communist hands or should he gamble American lives and resources on the chance that the country was worth the cost of saving it? Only a short while before, South Korea seemed not even worth the $110 million in promised American aid, only slightly more than half of those funds having been delivered by June 1950, but now, in the wake of China's recent fall to communism, Truman felt compelled to draw a line in the sand.[16] Within days Truman ordered American troops to the defense of South Korea in the name of "collective security" and called upon the United Nations to join in as well.[17] Whether soldiers at the time understood the forces at play in bringing them to Korea or not, American troops fought in Korea because of vague, if lofty American ideas about containing communism and because of Harry Truman's unwillingness to let South Korea become another China either in reality or in the minds of the American public. They fought because one half of a country invaded the other and to the President of the United States and to a good many other people that action threatened "human liberty," and "the free way of life."[18]

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[15] See Fehrenbach, *This Kind of War,* 42-49; Walter J. Boyne, *Beyond the Wild Blue: A History of the United States Air Force, 1947-1997* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1997), 56-57; Stokesbury, *A Short History of the Korean War,* 33-49; and Hastings, *The Korean War,* 46-53.
[16] Marcus, *America Since 1945,* 40.
[17] *Ibid*., 42.
[18] Harry Truman in a copy of a press address to be given 1 September 1950, Box "(43) Korean War: North Korea's Invasion of South Korea," CFSOKW.

Throughout the war, it became almost as difficult for troops to discern what military plan directed operations in country as to figure out the reasons for U. S. involvement in Korea. Men engaged in the actual combat of wars often have trouble envisioning the larger picture, but the nature of the Korean Conflict made strategies and objectives especially troublesome to figure out. Unlike World War II, where men served in different theaters of the war but had the same ultimate goal of total victory, the war in Korea unfolded in different and distinct phases, sometimes without benefit of clearly defined war aims. Unfortunately for those whose lives remained forfeit to the cause, the Korean War proved a haphazard affair. In the end, one's wartime experiences very much depended upon the luck of the draw and when and where a person served in the war zone.

American air and ground personnel committed to Korea in the early months of the war had no idea what to expect. Most of them had been stationed in Japan on easy duty as occupation troops and they did not really understand that what President Truman persisted in calling a "police action" was in fact a war. Rounded up from lifeguard duty, mess halls, and both support and infantry units, the first men sent to Korea to hold off the North Korean advance and save South Korea from communism believed their officers who reassured them that they would be back to the good life in Japan in thirty days after "handily whip[ping] the North Koreans' asses."[19] In reality, they would be gone quite a bit longer than that, many of them not returning for years, if at all.

In this first phase of the Korean Conflict, Truman initially charged American troops with simply hanging on in the peninsula and not allowing themselves to be driven into the sea. Even this limited task proved difficult. In sharp contrast to the seasoned troops of the Inmun Gun,

[19] Corporal Harrison Lee quoted in Baldovi, *A Foxhole View*, 3.

American soldiers often lacked the conditioning and training necessary for effectively waging war. Some of the men stationed in Japan or elsewhere and subsequently hurried to Korea in June or July 1950 had already cracked under the pressure of battle in World War II and been placed on "limited service," a bad omen for their potential combat performance in this war.[20] Others had become physically unfit for the rigors of battle. Huffing and puffing up the hills of Korea in August 1950, Sergeant Marcelo Vendiola could not help but notice that "no one was in physical shape."[21] Commanders did not help matters any when they plugged men into units wherever they were needed regardless of expertise. Truck drivers, ROTC graduates, and men who hadn't seen an M-1 since basic training had to become gunners, artillerymen, and infantrymen literally overnight.[22] As one colonel of the Eighth Army noted, "They've had to learn in combat, in a matter of days, the basic things they should have known before they ever faced an enemy. And some of them don't learn fast enough."[23]

Regardless, for weeks upon weeks men entered Korea in what they perceived to be scattered bands along a fluid and ever-changing front. Casualties mounted as did the numbers of Americans taken prisoner by the North Koreans.[24] Maybe the generals had a plan, but on the ground it looked like the war would last forever and the sacrifices would never amount to

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[20] Albert J. Glass, "Psychiatry in the Korean Campaign," *U. S. Armed Forces Medical Journal* 4:10 (October 1953), 1388.

[21] Quoted in Baldovi, *A Foxhole View*, 36.

[22] See Arsanio Vendiola and Private First Class Pete Behasa in Baldovi, *A Foxhole View*, 35 and 38; Nick Tosques quoted in Rudy Tomedi, *No Bugles, No Drums: An Oral History of the Korean War* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1993), 220; and Terry Addison, *The Battle for Pusan: A Korean War Memoir* (Novato, CA: Presidio, 2000), 1. Pilots faced similar situations. Trained to operate one kind of aircraft, they often found themselves learning to fly another under combat conditions.

[23] Colonel John "Mike" Michaelis quoted in Hastings, *The Korean War*, 96. Michaelis's comments came in September 1950 after hearing a report that one of his men had killed himself cleaning his pistol.

[24] Many of the UN troops, including Americans, taken prisoner by the North Koreans in the early months of the war ended up becoming fatalities. The North Koreans proved more brutal than would the Chinese later. The North Koreans frequently stripped their prisoners of all of their clothing, beat them, and then either killed them outright or forced them to walk north in "death marches." American graves registration personnel had as part of their assignment gathering evidence for war crimes trials against the North Koreans for the atrocities they committed early in the war. See Bill Chambers in Tomedi, *No Bugles, No Drums*, 46-49.

anything at all. Still, by September 1950 these piecemeal groups had managed to secure a perimeter, the Pusan Perimeter, around the southeast corner of Korea. While far short of anyone's definition of victory, this achievement did at last encourage President Truman and his officers in the field to begin planning the reclamation of South Korean territory still held by the North Korean People's Army and the second phase of the Korean War.

The successful landing of Marines and soldiers at Inchon Harbor on September 15, 1950 transformed the war in Korea. What had for Americans begun as a shaky defensive operation now metamorphosed into a tactical offensive. The war without end gave way to almost certain victory as United Nations and United States ground forces trapped and neutralized what units of the Inmun Gun remained between the Pusan Perimeter and roughly the 38th Parallel. South Korea had been saved and American G.I.s, ragged and worn down from their months in country, began to talk of going home for Christmas or even Thanksgiving.[25] If not for General Douglas MacArthur's determination to exploit North Korea's military setbacks and reunify Korea American-style, these hopes might have been realized and the war ended as early as October 1950.[26] Instead, with heavy boots and heavy hearts, and quite possibly without President Truman's blessing, the full force of the Eighth Army along with other U.N. troops crossed the 38th Parallel on October 9, 1950 with a new objective, the conquest of North Korea.[27] After a week or so of hard fighting, the North Koreans up and retreated, leaving Americans to capture Pyongyang, the northern capital, and advance toward the Yalu River, the border between North Korea and Manchuria. Americans once again smelled victory and the sweet aroma of Christmas

[25] For an example, see Corporal Irwin Crockett in Baldovi, *A Foxhole View*, 88-89.
[26] After the Indian ambassador to China warned that China was prepared to intervene if U. S. troops crossed the 38th Parallel, the government cautioned MacArthur, but, as one scholar writes, "they did not effectively rein him in." Stokesbury, *A Short History of the Korean War*, 83.
[27] See Hastings, *The Korean War*, 20-28; Lisle Rose, *The Cold War Comes to Main Street: America in 1950* (Lawerence: University Press of Kansas, 1999), 258; and Stokesbury, *A Short History of the Korean War*, 81.

dinner that would welcome them home before long. The United States had achieved its original goals in Korea and more.

Unfortunately, filled with hubris, General MacArthur, with President Truman in tow, failed in the drive toward triumph to heed warnings from communist China that should United Nations forces cross the 38th Parallel, "the Chinese People's Republic will send troops to aid the People's Republic of Korea."[28] As American, United Nations, and ROK forces dutifully gathered in North Korea in late October 1950 to mop up the remnants of war, a new and unexpected third phase of the Korean War erupted. Stationing about 180,000 "volunteers" in front of the Eighth Army and another 120,000 in the mountains around Chosin (or Changjin) Reservoir, the Chinese made good on their threat.[29] By early November, ROK forces began reporting engagements with Chinese units and before long all of the United Nations troops in the north learned to dread the haunting whistles and bugle calls that accompanied attacks by Chinese Communist Forces.[30] As in the early days of the Korean War, American troops had to pull back and try to find a line they could hold. Unlike those early months, the enemy resisted even their retreat and men caught at Chosin Reservoir and elsewhere had to fight no matter which direction they chose to go. Battle took its toll on soldiers and Marines alike, and the bitter Korean winter exacted a heavy price from those held in its grip. Surprised by both Chinese intervention and

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[28] Chinese Foreign Minister Chou En-lai to Indian ambassador Sardar K. M. Panikkar on 3 October 1950, quoted in Fehrenbach, *This Kind of War*, 187. China conveyed that it would intervene in the war if United Nations troops pushed above the 38th Parallel but not if only Republic of Korea forces did.

[29] *Ibid*., 193. It should be noted that the Chinese were represented in far greater numbers in North Korea than United Nations troops. For example, the Marines who had to fight their way out of Chosin Reservoir numbered about 15,000 but were surrounded by 120,000 Chinese volunteers. See Michael Kernan, "Chosin Survivors and the 78-mile Nightmare," *Washington Post*, 1 December 1984, Vertical Files, "Chosen," CFSOKW.

[30] Early encounters with Chinese troops did not always indicate to Americans that the Chinese had entered the war or what their participation meant. Sherman Pratt recounts how his patrol made contact with a Chinese unit near the Yalu River and both groups simply waved at each other. Later, a second patrol got fired on by the Chinese, but when a third patrol went to recover wounded Americans, they found that the Chinese had bandaged them, covered them in warm blankets, and put them on litters for the Americans to pick up. Pratt in Tomedi, *No Bugles, No Drums*, 63-64.

temperatures plunging well below zero, sometimes as much as thirty degrees below zero, the U. S. Armed Forces had yet to supply many of the troops with adequate cold weather gear.[31] Fighting day and night for weeks at a time against a determined and far more numerous foe as socks and guns froze to their feet and hands, soldiers quickly became casualties of both enemy fire and frostbite. From their vantage point, more than just real estate, taken so easily and quickly after the Inchon Landing, passed into Chinese hands. Fingers and toes and lives went missing, too, and these were lost forever.

Back in Washington and Japan, war planners had to reevaluate not only the strategies of the war but the entire war ethos. What should the U. S. after Chinese intervention now hope to accomplish in Korea? Largely unanswered throughout the rest of the war, this question still weighs heavily on the American conscience. But, by this stage in the game, men in the field did not really care anymore what politicians and generals wanted to gain from the war. They had already determined that "the only thing of value it [Korea] holds for the men here is a 6x6x6 plot of burial ground and what future is that to look forward to?"[32] Many of them had entered the conflict in its early days, prepared to spend a month or so in country. One month turned into six or seven and in that time they had pushed forward, pulled back, gained ground, given it up again, and sought refuge in the very same shelters going both directions.[33] After months of dirt and

[31] See Corporal Bertram Sebresos and Private First Class Nick Nishimoto in Baldovi, *A Foxhole View,* 98.
[32] Captain Norman Allen in a letter to his mother, 24 January 1951, in Donald Knox and Alfred Coppel, *The Korean War: Uncertain Victory, the Concluding Volume of an Oral History* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich, 1988), 23.
[33] Corporal Robert Fountain, who had been with Task Force Smith at the beginning of the war, realized in the winter of 1950-51 that he was taking shelter in the very same building that he had been in at the start of the war in July. Max Hastings, *The Korean War,* 176-77.

grime and countless tragedies, they still could not see what, if anything, Korea could be worth.[34] "A lot of them were saying, 'Fuck this place, I want to go home.'"[35]

By July 1951, the war in Korea settled into its fourth and final phase, a deadly stalemate between Chinese volunteers and United Nations troops. All along the 38th Parallel both sides dug in, forming "a rambling messy ditch or series of ditches five to seven feet deep."[36] Reminiscent of France during World War I, men lived and fought for months from dusty, littered, fixed positions on a static line. To be sure, Americans and Chinese alike initiated actions beyond the main line of resistance (MLR), as in the outpost war in the hills around the parallel, but by and large G.I.s had it right when they complained that "the Army wasn't going anywhere, and everyone knew it."[37] In some places demoralized Army troops established a temporary and informal truce with the enemy across the way, causing a few Marines to wonder at the "blatant lack of aggressiveness on the part of our Army."[38] More than a year into the war, young men both in the war zone and stateside wanted to know, "How can the President have 'guts' enough to ask my fellows to sign up for the armed forces or draft them, after seeing what a heavy loss we've already had?…I still don't know what we are fighting for."[39]

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[34] As in other phases of the war, soldiers serving in Korea after Chinese intervention and before the stalemate continued to seek clarification of the reasons for their presence in the peninsula. Having seen many of the gains made after the Inchon Landing erased, they concluded, "Never have American men fought in a more useless war." See Letter to the editor of the Ft. Wayne *News Sentinel* from Lt. Gale O. Buuck in *Congressional Record, Appendix,* 82nd Congress, 1st sess., January 1951-October 1951, vol. 97, A1834.

[35] Andy Barr in Tomedi, *No Bugles, No Drums,* 77.

[36] Description of the line by a replacement, quoted in Lee Ballenger, *The Final Crucible: U. S. Marines in Korea,* v. II: *1953* (Washington, D. C.: Brassey's, 2001), 34.

[37] John A. Sullivan, *Toy Soldiers: Memoir of a Combat Platoon Leader in Korea* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland and Company, 1991), 19.

[38] Ballenger, *The Final Crucible,* 205-206. In Korea, as in other wars, a healthy rivalry existed between the different branches of the U.S. military and between the various components of each. In their memoirs and oral histories, Marines often accuse soldiers of having conducted fewer patrols, ambushes, and raids. For their part, soldiers in the regular Army not infrequently call into question the quality of reserve troops. For a discussion of reserve troops versus regular soldiers, see Howard Matthias, *The Korean War: Reflections of a Young Combat Platoon Leader,* rev. ed. (Tallahassee, FL: Father & Son Publishing, 1995), 53.

[39] Bute Findley to Robert A. Taft, 8 December 1951, Taft Papers, Box 1061, LOC.

With public opinion at home wavering on the Korean War and the realization that the reunification of Korea would cost too much in terms of American lives and money, the United States decided that the time had come to compromise. NSC 48/4 called for a unified, independent Korea, but if war with the Soviet Union could be avoided, Washington would now accept a defensible border for South Korea somewhere in the vicinity of the 38th Parallel. On June 29, 1951, General Matthew Ridgway, the United Nations Commander, let North Korea and China know that the U. N. was prepared to negotiate an armistice. The first meeting of peace negotiators opened on July 10, 1951 in Kaesong, the ancient capital of Korea. The talks went nowhere, adjourning until October 1951, but the fact that the United States was seeking to solve the conflict on the bargaining table set the tone for the last two years of the conflict.[40] From the perspective of those Americans called to fight the war, "The Chinese sat down at the peace tables of Panmunjom in July of 1951 because they were hard pressed. And instead of pushing harder, we sat on our asses for the rest of the war."[41]

The Army, Air Force, Marines, and Navy continued to ship reluctant replacements into what remained a hot war, but negotiators in Panmunjom and tight-fisted officials back home compelled the Armed Forces to limit their efforts as the war might end soon anyway.[42] On the ground, troops suffered not only from ammunition shortages and the feeling that their country

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[39] Owen, *Colder than Hell*, 171. After receiving "Dear John" letters, many men broke down.
[40] For the more detail on the history of this phase of the war, see Stokesbury, *A Short History of the Korean War*, 129- 159.
[41] Sullivan, *Toy Soldiers*, 17-18. See also Berry, Oral History by Caudill, 36.
[42] After the first year or so of the war the rotation system, discussed below, carried out of Korea the men who had begun the conflict, replacing them with draftees or recruits who had 9 months to a year to serve in country before getting their own tickets punched and rotating out. Many of these were fresh from basic training and untested in battle. For examples, see Baldovi in Baldovi, *A Foxhole View*, 198 and Tom Clawson in Tomedi, *No Bugles, No Drums*, 149.

had forgotten them but from the frustration of accomplishing nothing.[43] Fighting within full view of the balloons floating above Panmunjom, one nineteen year old sergeant complained, "We are doing nothing but holding on to what we already have and fighting to get back what we lose. Then, after getting it back we sit down and wait for them to try and take it away again. We should be pushing on and getting this war over and done with."[44] Another G.I. observed, "Most of us are pretty fed up with the peace talks over here. One guy said last night he wished we'd stop all the backing and filling and get on with the fighting."[45] Fighter pilots echoed these same sentiments when pointing out their frustration at having "to watch the enemy strike at them from what General Douglas MacArthur has called their Manchurian sanctuary."[46] Washington ordered American aircraft to stay strictly below the Yalu River, leaving them unable to knock out enemy anti-aircraft guns or pursue the enemy MIGs which crossed the border between Manchuria and Korea at will to attack them.[47] Until the bitter end, however, the peace talks reigned supreme. United Nations commanders planned offensives in order to hasten China's acquiescence of terms at the table or to sweeten the pot for the United States and other U. N. member countries, not to bring a victory like the soldiers of World War II had won, and the men

[43] By October 1952 ammunition was in short supply in part because domestic manufacturers had reduced their production in the belief that the war was almost at an end. In 1953, the Marine Corps ordered marines to "pick up your brass," meaning that after a battle they would comb the field for spent cartridges to be sent back by tank to be recycled. Ballenger, *The Final Crucible,* 45-47. Also see Fehrenbach, *This Kind of War,* 439.
[44] Sergeant William Janzen, quoted in Ballenger, *The Final Crucible,* 48. For similar sentiment, see Boris Spiroff, *Korea: The Frozen Hell on Earth: A Platoon Sergeant's Diary, Korean War, 1950-1951* (Baltimore, MD: American Literary Press, Inc., 1998), 36. "With our capability, our aircraft, and our armament, we should not be fighting a limited war. If allowed to go all out, we could win it."
[45] From an extract from a letter sent home from a GI in Korea, quoted in U. S. Senate, *Congressional Record,* 82nd Congress, 2nd sess., 8 January 1952-25 February 1952, vol. 98, part 1, 979.
[46] Quoted in William C. Barnard, "Jet Pilots Joke About Exploits, But Yalu Border Angers Them," reproduced in U. S. House, *Congressional Record,* 82nd Congress, 1st sess., 26 April 1951-24 May 1951, vol. 97, part 4, 5284.
[47] See U. S. House, *Congressional Record,* 82nd Congress, 1st sess., 26 April-24 May 1951, vol. 97, part 4, 5284-5286. This source also discusses the low morale of troops in Korea given the debate over the war at home and Secretary of State Dean Acheson's testimony that the U. S. no longer had any hope of victory.

in Korea knew it.[48] Eventually, they reassured themselves, negotiations would bring peace. All that many of the troops hoped for now was to live to see it. No one wanted to "be the last guy killed."[49]

At 10:00 p.m. on July 27, 1953, the guns finally fell silent in Korea. Twelve hours earlier the representatives of North Korea, Lieutenant General Nam Il, and the United Nations, Lieutenant General William K. Harrison, had met at Panmunjom to sign a ceasefire agreement.[50] Though only an armistice and not a treaty, soldiers on both sides of the line could at long last lay down their weapons and most could return home. Newly elected President Dwight D. Eisenhower informed the American public that this ended "the fighting between the United Nations forces and the Communist armies."[51] Perhaps breathing a sigh of relief, Americans returned to their business and all but forgot about the bitter little war in Korea that had claimed 36,940 American lives. But on the men and women who served and fought in country from June 1950 to July 1953, the Korean War left indelible marks. Like the Revolutionary War, the Civil War, the two World Wars, Vietnam, Iraq, and all the wars fought from time immemorial, the Korean War forced participants to experience new, often unpleasant things, and to rethink the certainties that once had defined their lives. But the Korean War, a limited, integrated, unfinished war against a new type of enemy, also became for those who participated in it a war like no other.

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[48] Some authors point out that later in the war U.N. forces were told to stop aggressive tactics and fight a more defensive war. For an example, see Ballenger, *The Final Crucible,* 262.
[49] Arthur L. Kelly, Interview by Russell Harris, 16 December 1993, 54 (Kentuckiana Digital Library at http://kdl.kyvl.org). This sentiment is echoed again and again in the writings of Korean War veterans who served after July 1951. For another example, see Sullivan, *Toy Soldiers*, 19. "To get killed was to be wasted and no one wants to be wasted."
[50] Fehrenbach, *This Kind of War,* 447-448 and Stokesbury, *A Short History of the Korean War*, 249-251.
[51] Dwight D. Eisenhower, "Radio and Television Address to the American People Announcing the Signing of the Korean Armistice," *Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States, Dwight D. Eisenhower: Containing the Public Messages, Speeches, and Statements of the President, 1953* (Washington, D. C.: United States Government Printing Office, 1960), 520.

Into the War Zone

On June 27, 1950, just two days after the Inmun Gun's attack on South Korea, President Truman ordered the first Americans, naval and air personnel stationed in the vicinity of the peninsula, into the war zone to support ROK forces.[52] United States Navy destroyers, like the *USS Mansfield, De Haven, Collett,* and *Lyman K. Swenson*, and cruisers, like the *USS Juneau,* hurriedly answered the call, abruptly transporting men from peacetime patrols to firing positions along the Korean shoreline. There, American sailors entered the conflict, shelling land positions and establishing a blockade that would prove useful for the duration of the war.[53] Similarly, airmen, so recently enjoying life in their own little enclaves in occupied Japan, very quickly became commuter warriors.[54] With airstrips all but nonexistent in Korea, pilots and their crews began flying missions out of Japan and over Korea, returning home to wives and kids, backyard barbecues, and "O" Clubs at the end of the day.[55] With the American Navy and Air Force in place, the first deployment of U. S. ground forces landed in country on July 1, 1950, followed just days later by 57 female Army nurses charged with setting up a hospital at Pusan.[56]

Dispatched swiftly and unexpectedly, these first American arrivals in Korea, especially those on the ground, often simply dropped into the war zone with no particular preparation. Desperate in the early weeks of the war to stop the North Korean advance, the Army pulled men

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[52] For the chronology of events, see Hastings, *The Korean War,* 345-350.
[53] The first naval activity in country actually began the day after Truman's order when the *USS Juneau* fired on positions near Samchok on June 28, 1950. See Paul M. Edwards, *To Acknowledge a War: The Korean War in American Memory* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2000), 110.
[54] The Navy, Air Force, and Marines all supplied airmen for the Korean War. Tomedi, *No Bugles, No Drums,* 161.
[55] Lisle Rose, *The Cold War Comes to Main Street: America in 1950* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1999), 253. In the early days of the war, airmen flew out of Japan because Korea had little to offer by way of airstrips and the fluid nature of the war made the construction of air bases impractical.
[56] Jeanne Holm, *Women in the Military: An Unfinished Revolution* (Novato, CA: Presidio, 1982), 149.

from all units and military occupational specialties in Japan to form a fighting force for Korea. With no time to spare for additional training or even the notification of families, the men of Task Force Smith and later other outfits of the 24th Infantry Division, airlifted straight into Korea where the Army expected them to begin fighting almost immediately.[57] Even when replacements shipped in from duty stations other than Japan after the initial deployments, the process of entering the war zone remained frenetic. Sailing from Sasebo to Korea in July 1950, Private First Class Susumu Shinagawa received an M-1 rifle and ammunition to go with it, but no poncho or combat boots. Possessing only dress shoes, he had to borrow boots and stuff them with toilet paper to make them fit.[58] Worse yet, Marty Nelson arrived in Japan only to be rushed off to Korea without a rifle.[59] Certainly, this could not have been the introduction to war that most American servicemen expected. Once in Korea, however, these early troops could count on the gratitude of the South Koreans. In a scene to be oft repeated during the first couple months of the war, more than 1500 townspeople gathered in the drizzle to applaud and cheer Americans passing through Taejon on July 2, 1950 while a brass band played in their honor.[60]

Aside from a few dramatic landings, like the ones at Inchon Harbor in September 1950 or of replacements sent to North Korea in the winter of 1950, American arrivals in country settled into more predictable and systematic routines as the war progressed. Both Army and Marine replacements almost always filtered to the front by way of Japan, docking in Kobe or Yokohama

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[57] "U. S. Troop Transfer Is Smooth," *Daily Oklahoman*, 1 July 1950, 5; Robert Roy in Tomedi, *No Bugles, No Drums*, 3; and Baldovi, *A Foxhole View*, xvii. Sadly, some men died in Korea before their wives and families could even be notified of their deployment. In an oral history, Sidney Berry remembers that his wife boarded the last transport for dependents of men stationed in Japan and by the time she arrived the husbands of some of the women she had traveled with had already been killed in action in Korea. Lt. General Sidney Berry, Oral History by Dr. Orley Caudill, 1980, 24, volume 198, Mississippi Oral History Program, University of Southern Mississippi, Hattiesburg, Mississippi.

[58] Susumu Shinagawa in Baldovi, *A Foxhole View*, 10.

[59] Robert F. Hallahan, *All Good Men: A Lieutenant's Memories of the Korean War* (New York: iUniverse, Inc., 2003), 13-14.

[60] "Taejon Cheers as GI Caravan Rolls on North," *Daily Oklahoman*, 2 July 1950, 2A.

for a few hours or days. With any luck, men headed to Korea got enough liberty to enjoy the crowds at the pier, hire rickshaws for sightseeing, or simply head into town to shop or search out ladies for one last bit of female companionship.[61] Then, the time came to resume travel. Some returned to the troopships, but most boarded trains bound for the inter-island ferries at Sasebo.[62] Already tired, men found the train rides wearing. Not only did the trains take hours or even days to reach their destinations, but smoke funneled into the cars through open windows and at best restroom facilities consisted of oblong holes in the floor of the car guarded by latrine orderlies who made sure that people disposed of their waste before exiting.[63] At the docks of Sasebo, the troops climbed aboard the flat-bottomed ferries with their weapons, packs, and c-rations and waved goodbye to the G.I.s and Japanese who had gathered below to throw rolls of confetti and shout "Sayonara" while the bands played. Leaving under blackout orders, after having seen the grim look on the faces of those returning from the combat zone, young replacements began to consider that "this is a one way passage for many of us" and wonder "who will return in coffins."[64] Perhaps for the first time they realized that they were in fact sailing out of one world and into another and that regardless of how many men went with them they would enter the war alone.

No matter what month or year men and women arrived in Korea during the war, getting settled in proved a real challenge. First impressions of the peninsula often served to reinforce that Americans did not want to be in this place at all. For some, the haunting, "ghostly shadow

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[61] Ballenger, *The Final Crucible,* 14.
[62] While the ferries did not provide the most comfortable means of travel, the troopships often proved far more unpleasant at disembarkation. Marines landing at Inchon Harbor (not during the famed September invasion) describe having to climb down the sides of the ships on net ropes while carrying field packs, rifles, and helmets. They then had to drop into landing craft which would carry them to the dock. See Ballenger, *The Final Crucible,* 15.
[63] Addison, *The Battle for Pusan,* 4-6.
[64] Bernstein, *Monsters and Angels,* 264.

of Korea rising out of the mist" gave them pause, but for most the smells and sights of the land made them long for home.[65] While still miles out, those aboard ferries could smell the fecal odor emanating from Korean rice paddies and farms, and upon landing the scents of charcoal, garlic, smoke, unfamiliar food, and gunpowder helped create a sickening combination.[66] As days of war lengthened into months and years, newcomers saw only devastation as they looked around them. Broken buildings, ripped up roads, hungry refugees, ever present clouds of dust and flies, these characterized Korea. But, however much they might have wished to turn back around to Japan or the United States, soldiers, Marines, doctors, nurses, and later Air Force personnel had no choice but to dig in and stick it out in Korea for the remainder of their tours.

Harried and desperate in the first days of the war, the U. S. Army could do little to help personnel acclimate to their new surroundings or to improve living and fighting conditions in country. The need for soldiers at the front frequently outweighed protocol which called for staging areas to orient soldiers before turning them loose in the combat zone. Men in the vanguard of the Eighth Army Far East Command docked at Pusan or elsewhere while South Korean bands played and then rushed off to the battle on trucks or on narrow gauge railroads built decades earlier by the Japanese. Reaching positions late at night or early in the morning, they furtively dug foxholes, sometimes while under fire by North Korean artillery.[67] Even when soldiers had the chance to pass through a staging area, communications could fail with unpleasant results. One soldier recalled that after arriving in Pusan his outfit marched to a

[65] *Ibid*., 265.
[66] Stanley Weintraub in Tomedi, *No Bugles, No Drums*, 188 and Ballenger, *The Final Crucible*, 14.
[67] See Private First Class Arnold Winter in Tomedi, *No Bugles, No Drums*, 25.

warehouse "staging area." After spending the night there, the men realized that their staging area was actually a collection point for the human feces used by Korean farmers.[68]

Later in the war, both the Army and Marine Corps established more regular reception centers for their troops. Soldiers got unit and station assignments in Pusan while Marines trucked into ASCOM City to await assignment and transport.[69] At ASCOM City, Marines heading to the MLR turned in their seabags, which carried most of their personal possessions, and prepared to live out of field packs, called "Willie Peters" because of waterproofing. After a couple of days Marines moved out by train, with new replacements stopping at the battalion command post for four or five days of orientation. Here Marines heard lectures about the Korean War in general and the units opposing them, made practice patrols at night in the paddies, and received additional equipment.[70] Unlike Marines, soldiers sometimes shipped straight to the line from the reception center without any sort of explanation of what to do or what to expect.[71] As one Army draftee put it, "That's what scares you the most when you're new. Nobody tells you anything."[72]

Once at the front, all that men could do was wait for the war to come to them. Some, like Marine Second Lieutenant John Nolan felt prepared, perhaps even anxious for the fight to begin.

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[68] Vendiola in Baldovi, *A Foxhole View*, 30.
[69] Arthur L. Kelly, Interview by Russell Harris, 16 December 1993, 24.
[70] Ballenger, *The Final Crucible*, 15-18.
[71] For more on Army replacements being hustled straight into combat, see Peter S. Kindsvatter, *American Soldiers: Ground Combat in the World Wars, Korea, and Vietnam* (U.S.: University Press of Kansas, 2003), 71. By late 1951, the Army did sometimes provide several days of orientation in Japan before men shipped over to Korea. See Icle G. Davis, "A Soldier Reminisces About Koje," unpublished memoir included with *Korean War Veteran Survey*, (1965), 1, CFSOKW.
[72] Tom Clawson in Tomedi, *No Bugles, No Drums*, 149. It should be noted that men in the Air Force did eventually join their Army and Marine brethren in country as the line stabilized and the military repaired or rebuilt air fields. But, unlike soldiers and Marines, Air Force personnel tended to head straight to the compounds that they would share with other pilots and crews, and the nature of their business tended to lessen the impact of arrival in country and of the land front.

"I thought that was what I had been trained to do, educated to do, I felt ready to do it."[73] But most found the anticipation of battle harrowing. As men neared positions on the line, they grew quieter, more afraid and more contemplative. Some examined the faces of those who had already experienced battle, taking note of the "thousand yard stare" and determining that "days of combat without sleep, water, and food and being close to being killed every day must have done that to them."[74] Others began to wonder how they would perform under fire and whether they would survive at all, realizing suddenly that "I will soon have to kill a man or be killed by him."[75] All in all, whether one arrived before the Inchon Landing or after the entrance of Chinese volunteers, the minutes, hours, or days before one's first experience in battle filled soldiers and Marines alike with "a spooky feeling."[76] War might prove different altogether, but the experience of waiting for it was "all very strange and terrifying."[77]

Fighting in Korea

Whether in the Army, Navy, Air Force, or Marines, a good many of the men serving in theater during the Korean War did end up in combat sooner or later. Precise figures remain elusive, but recent surveys of veterans suggest that upwards of 70% of those stationed in country saw action.[78] Certainly, in this limited, conventional ground war, Army and Marine infantrymen

[73] John Edward Nolan, interview by J. Cantwell, 29 December 1999, 2, online at American Century Project, St. Andrews Episcopal School Library Archive (www.doingoralhistory.org).
[74] Private Taro Goya in Baldovi, *A Foxhole View*, 216.
[75] Ronald J. Landry, "Excerpts," in "Chosin House: Poems and Prose," Box FF, Folder A0964, CFSOKW.
[76] Vendiola in Baldovi, *A Foxhole View*, 36.
[77] Landry, "Excerpts," in "Chosin House."
[78] One of the best sources for statistical information on the veterans of Korea, the Bradley Commission Report, simply records that data on combat service is "not available." "Section XI: Mortality and Combat Service," "Question 11," 1 (Bradley Commission): Records, 1954-58, A 69-22 and 79-6, Box 61, DDE Library. Recent surveys offer some insights into what percentage of men in Korea actually tasted combat, but it must be remembered

had the greatest risk of finding their way onto the battlefield and suffered the most casualties and fatalities, but Navy and Air Force personnel also served and died on the front lines during the war.[79] Flying from aircraft carriers off the coast or from bases in Japan or Korea, pilots flew more than a million sorties over the Korean peninsula, dropping bombs, providing air cover to troops below, and engaging in deadly duels with enemy MIGs, all while trying to evade hostile fire.[80] Men aboard ships delivered soldiers and Marines to the war zone, but also not infrequently became combatants themselves. They cleared coastal waters in small minesweepers, manned the guns while "softening up" land targets with heavy and sometimes reciprocated bombardment, evacuated soldiers and civilians, and tendered protection and support to men on the battleground.[81] Regardless of branch of service, American servicemen in Korea endured combat and shared an uncomfortable intimacy with war. The passage through battle often left survivors with not only ideas about the true costs and realities of armed conflict but with physical or emotional scars that would mark them for life.

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that these only include information from veterans still living at the time of the survey. A 1987 survey found that 48.5% of veterans served in Korea and 35.2% experienced combat, thus 72.5% of men in country saw action. "1987 Survey of Veterans (conducted for the Department of Veterans Affairs by the U. S. Bureau of the Census) (July 1989)," 16, NA, RG 015, Box 1. Similarly, a 2001 survey concluded that 42.4% served in Korea and 34.8% experienced combat, meaning 82% of men in Korea experienced battle. "2001 Survey of Veterans," online at www.va.gov/vetdata/surveyresults/final.htm.

[79] Of deaths in Korea, naval personnel accounted for 1.4% and Air Force personnel accounted for 3.6%. The Army, of course, supplied 82.4% of the fatalities and the Marine Corps the other 12.7%. Steven L. Canby, *Military Manpower Procurement: A Policy Analysis* (Lexington, MA: Lexington Books, 1972), 65.

[80] American Air Force pilots flew over 700,000 missions, Marine units 100,000, and Navy pilots 170,000. Together these dropped 700,000 tons of ordnance and 30,000 tons of napalm and expended more than 100 million rounds of machine gun ammunition. They destroyed 1000 locomotives, 10,000 railroad cars, 80,000 vehicles, close to 600 boats, 65 tunnels, 1000 bridges, and 100,000 buildings. They also killed an estimated 200,000 enemy troops, wounding as many as half a million more. Jennie Ethell Chancey and William R. Forstchen, *Hot Shots: An Oral History of the Air Force Combat Pilots of the Korean War* (New York: Harper Collins, 2000), 237-238. See also Paul M. Edwards, *To Acknowledge a War: The Korean War in American Memory* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2000), 112.

[81] During the war, the Navy fired some 4 million rounds of ammunition, damaging 3334 buildings, 824 vessels, and numerous trucks, locomotives, tanks, bridges, and supply dumps. Navy personnel also inflicted almost 30,000 enemy casualties. When the Chinese entered the war, the Navy took part in the largest evacuation in U. S. history, carrying hundreds of thousands of soldiers and refugees out of North Korea in December 1950. Edwards, *To Acknowledge a War*, 110-112. See also Jean Ebbert and Marie-Beth Hall, *Crossed Currents: Navy Women from World War I to Tail Hook* (Washington, D., C.: Brassey's, 1993), 128.

For ground troops, the topography and climate of Korea could hardly have been worse for fighting. Marines and soldiers at every stage in the war had to hump up and down steep, craggy hills weighed down by M-1 rifles and packs stuffed with c-rations, extra socks, and ammunition—all the necessities of life within war.[82] Members of crew-served weapons added to their loads heavy, bulky pieces of equipment and even heavier large caliber rounds. One 138-pound BAR man complained that he had eighty pounds of gear with which to keep up.[83] Before even arriving at the battlefield, men grew weary. And, often, reaching the battlefield meant attacking uphill with grenades and bullets raining down from the North Koreans or Chinese entrenched above. As Corporal Jay Hidano put it, "Braving enemy fire was one thing, but having to crawl up the steep slopes with bullets buzzing and striking all around us was just madness."[84] Generals, politicians, or reporters on the sidelines might have dreamed up romantic names like "Heartbreak Ridge" for the hills of Korea, but those doing the marching agreed with one wry soldier who retorted it's "more like Ass break Ridge."[85]

The hills of Korea became nemesis to many a G.I. during the war, but extremes of heat and especially of cold made this war particularly miserable. Summertime in Korea meant monsoons and temperatures soaring well over 100 degrees with humidity reaching the 90 percent range. But, if troops longed for cooler weather, they soon had cause to regret it. Winters dished out even harsher conditions on the peninsula as temperatures dipped to 30 or 40 degrees below

[82] Reporter Bill Mauldin described distance in Korea as "up and down" and asserted that "when they say this is a young man's war, they aren't kidding." See Mauldin, *Bill Mauldin in Korea* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1952), 63.
[83] Private First Class Arnold Winter in Tomedi, *No Bugles, No Drums*, 24.
[84] Corporal Jay Hidano in Tomedi, *No Bugles, No Drums*, 60.
[85] Baldovi in Baldovi, *A Foxhole View*, 263. Baldovi further notes that the rugged terrain of Korea made it a young man's war.

zero.[86] Men trying to live, much less fight under such conditions had real troubles. As at Chosin Reservoir when Chinese volunteers overran American positions, men succumbed not just to the enemy but to the freezing cold. A few froze to death in their foxholes and a great many more suffered from frostbite, losing toes or developing other problems that would plague them for life.[87] Socks and even equipment froze to unprotected skin. Pete Behasa remembers one man having to urinate on another man's hand to free his palm from the rifle muzzle where it had stuck.[88] Water had to be cut with alcohol, c-rations had to be chipped out of the cans and melted in one's mouth like ice cubes, and vials of morphine had to be kept warm in the mouths or armpits of medics and corpsmen.[89] The permafrost-like ground made digging foxholes and graves a misery if in fact they could be shoveled out at all. Sometimes the dead just had to be strapped onto the running boards of vehicles, buried in holes blown out of the earth with TNT, or left until the spring thaw.[90] Hot and tired or cold and tired, the ground troops of Korea had to manage to survive the elements and find the resolve to pick up their guns and fight.

Stowed away aboard ship or flying above the ridgelines, sailors and airmen had less cause to worry about the Korean landscape or climate when involved in engagements than their infantry counterparts. Still, especially for pilots, the weather and nature of the peninsula posed certain challenges. So long as airmen remained airborne, they did not need to worry about what lay below. But, if forced to crash land or abandon the aircraft for any reason, pilots experienced

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[86] James L. Stokesbury, *A Short History of the Korean War*, 21.
[87] Faris R. Kirkland, "Soldiers and Marines at Chosin Reservoir: Criteria for Assignment to Combat Command," *Armed Forces and Society* 22:2 (Winter 1995), 257-259 and "Out Front: Aging World War II, Korea Vets Finally Compensated for Frostbite Ills," *Boston Globe Online*, 6 April 1997, 4.
[88] Behasa in Baldovi, *A Foxhole View*, 94.
[89] Kindsvatter, *American Soldiers, 41-42*. Also Owen, *Colder than Hell*, 230.
[90] Richard Suarez in Tomedi, *No Bugles, No Drums*, 94-95. In his poem, "I Remember," William Wantling describes the rediscovery of a comrade listed missing in action and buried all winter in a snow bank, "preserved like a side of beef all winter." See W. D. Ehrhart and Philip K. Jason, eds., *Retrieving Bones: Stories and Poems of the Korean War* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1999), 188.

some of the same problems as ground soldiers as well as a few all their own. The rugged layout of the land, a series of slopes and valleys, made emergency landings risky at best. Even if a pilot could lay the craft down safely, how could he be rescued? Other pilots unfailingly did what they could to save a fallen comrade, risking their own lives to circle the crash site and hold off the enemy until rescue helicopters could arrive.[91] But, this wasn't always enough. Men burned to death after crashing into hillsides and froze to death after parachuting into Korea's icy cold waters. In winter, a downed airman could expect to live for only twenty minutes after landing in the sea—a very short time in which to mount and complete a rescue mission. After the first four minutes in the drink, a man's hands froze stiff, his face turned purple, and his feet became useless.[92] The Korean Peninsula itself could kill airmen as handily as the North Koreans or Chinese.

Aside from extremes in weather and topography, the combat experiences of men in Korea proved largely reflective of the American war experience as a whole. No one knew how individuals or units would perform until after the first couple of battles or missions. Thinking of the competency of a BAR man almost tossed out of the military before the war, Uzal Ent noted one "can't tell beforehand who's going to perform well in combat."[93] Similarly, an outgoing platoon leader warned new platoon leader John Nolan, "You really won't know what you have until you go through a fire fight with the members of your platoon."[94] Spit-and-polish servicemen sometimes washed out when it came to the business of killing and surviving while other types discharged their duties heroically.

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[91] "Navy News Release," *Dixie Times-Picayune,* 7 December 1952, 1-2, NA, RG 319, Box 007. Also Colonel "Pancho" Pasqualicchio in Chancey and Forstchen, *Hot Shots,* 83-84.
[92] Michener, "The Forgotten Heroes of Korea," 20. Also Jim Service in Tomedi, *No Bugles, No Drums,* 159.
[93] Ent in Tomedi, *No Bugles, No Drums,* 19.
[94] Nolan, interview by Cantwell, 29 December 1999, 6.

In the Air Force, the widespread lack of prewar training, especially early in the war, made it equally difficult to predict how men would fare under combat conditions. Pilots learned new formations through "trial and error" in the Korean skies and certified combat-ready just hours before setting off on missions in aircraft they had seldom or never flown before.[95] Upon arriving at his outfit, "Boots" Blesse, an F-80 pilot, learned that he would have to fly a P-51 on his mission the following morning. Not yet certified to fly that particular aircraft, Blesse spent the rest of his day training in a "clean airplane," completing three hours of flight time and ten landings. The next day Blesse set out in a storm, his P-51 loaded down with napalm rockets and a .50 caliber machine gun.[96] Similarly, Bob Ennis, an Air Force pilot with no flying time at all in B-26s before the war learned to fly them in Korea and Robinson Risner was declared "combat ready" after seven hours and thirty minutes flying time in the F-86.[97] How Blesse, Ennis, Risner, or anyone else would do under enemy fire before they had gone through it remained a mystery at best.

So just what was combat like in Korea? Firefights, at least for infantrymen, began in a number of different ways. Early in the war, when they enjoyed numerical superiority, North Korean troops simply attacked en masse, pushing forward in a huge, rolling human wave. In instances where Americans had surrounded themselves with concertina wire, the first North Koreans to reach the barrier threw themselves onto it, allowing those behind to move ahead by

[95] See Colonel Cecil Foster and Robinson Risner in Chancey and Forstchen, *Hot Shots,* 148 and 158. Part of pilot problems in Korea stemmed from the Air Force's continuing shift away from propeller planes to jets. Pilots generally trained on only one type of plane or the other, often finding that they needed a new skill set in Korea.
[96] Foster, Risner, and General Frederick C. "Boots" Blesse in Chancey and Forstchen, *Hot Shots,* 40-42,148, and 158. A "clean airplane" carried no weapons or bombs.
[97] Bob Ennis in Tomedi, *No Bugles, No Drums,* 161-162. Risner in Chancey and Forstchen, *Hot Shots,* 158.

stepping on them.[98] Regardless of the number of dead, soldiers of the Inmun Gun kept advancing until they reached enemy positions or died trying. With the possible exception of men who served in the Pacific during World War II or in the Philippines during the Spanish American War and Philippine Insurrection, few Americans had ever faced an enemy like the North Koreans. The North Korean determination and disregard for human life unnerved G.I.s who dreaded encountering the enemy or even smelling the tell-tale garlic on their breath or hearing the unpleasant burping sound their guns made when fired.[99] As North Korean numbers dwindled and American forces grew on the peninsula, however, North Koreans husbanded their manpower resources more carefully, abandoning the costly human wave assaults. Then, both sides usually initiated operations by pounding the enemy with artillery to soften targets. Before sending men clambering up the hills, artillerymen from the attacking side shelled enemy strongholds until the land resembled nothing so much as a barren, pockmarked moonscape or something out of a nuclear holocaust nightmare. As one soldier remembers, "At night I witnessed artillery fire so violent that it lit up the sky to an incredible degree. I still wonder how anyone survived such terrifying onslaughts."[100] Amazingly, men did live through these barrages, but found them terrifying. Like Private Baldovi, more than a few survivors of artillery attacks remember their mixed response of religiosity and profanity. "I must have broken the record for saying the 'Hail Mary' and, at the same time, the profanities that came from my mouth would have embarrassed anyone."[101]

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[98] Vendiola in Tomedi, *No Bugles, No Drums,* 37. Veterans recall the Chinese doing this also. See M/Sgt. William Price, quoted in Harold L. Keith, "Sarge Volunteers for Korea Duty, Wants to See His Pals," *Pittsburgh Courier,* 7 February 1953, 2.
[99] Many veterans remember the smell of garlic on the enemy's breath (both North Korean and Chinese). See Sullivan, *Toy Soldiers,* 45.
[100] Van Scarborough, Interview by Robin Morris in Havard, *By Word of Mouth,* 34.
[101] Baldovi in Baldovi, *A Foxhole View,* 204-205.

When the Chinese entered the conflict in October 1950, they brought few tactical innovations to bear against American troops. Like the North Koreans before them, Chinese volunteers "came straight at us, like a mob."[102] Even with mortars pouring down, the Chinese attacked in formation and "kept coming with absolutely no regard for their lives. It was like committing suicide."[103] And, short on technology, the Chinese seldom attacked quietly. The eerie wailings of bugles, sharp calls of whistles, rattling cans, and directional orders yelled in "sing-song" voices all alerted U.N. forces when an engagement was imminent.[104] In Korea, where the scrubby, barren hills provided little cover for would-be attackers, Chinese tactics might have proved the undoing of the Peoples Volunteer Army, but the Chinese minimized their losses by attacking after dark when possible, a fact that most Americans despised.[105] Nighttime operations not only hampered the support efforts of American airpower, but also chipped away at American morale. As one young soldier wrote home in 1951, "The Chinks never hit in the daytime, that's the hell of it. At night while I'm on watch…I shiver and shake whether it's cold or not."[106] Even after the war stalemated and both the Chinese and Americans holed up in bunkers along the line, Chinese troops often withdrew to their foxholes at dawn, coming out again at night to fight. With the "no man's land" between the bunkers denuded, making daytime

[102] Fred Lawson in Tomedi, *No Bugles, No Drums,* 87.
[103] Baldovi and Sebresos in Baldovi, *A Foxhole View,* 108 and 208.
[104] Lawson and George Zonge in Tomedi, *No Bugles, No Drums,* 87 and 99; Arnold Del Castillo in Don Boxmeyer, *A Knack for Knowing Things: Stories From St. Paul Neighborhoods and Beyond* (St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society Press, 2003), 153; and Sebresos in Baldovi, *A Foxhole View,* 107.
[105] See Kindsvatter, *American Soldiers,* 50. This is not to say that Americans did not appreciate the reasoning behind attacking at night. One veteran's major complaint about the war actually centers around his memory that General Smith of the 7th Division ordered a daytime company-sized assault on T-Bone Hill so that visiting congressmen and reporters could view it. Sullivan, *Toy Soldiers,* 20.
[106] See Jack to Bud, 21 May 1951, Clarence Jackson Davis (AFC2001/001/1644), Folder 1, VHPC, AFC, LOC.

patrols and raids suicidal, Americans had no choice but to operate in the dark as well. Ultimately, "It simply became a habit. We were quite comfortable in the dark."[107]

Engagements rarely lasted more than a few hours and almost never more than a few days, but once a battle got going combatants had little time for such mundane things as eating, drinking, changing socks, sleeping, or even relieving themselves. [108] In the best of circumstances, enemy fire had to be returned from afar and mortars and bullets had to be dodged. The skyline overhead filled with flares, tracer bullets, and searchlights in various shades of orange, red, and green. And, if American troops got lucky, further up planes whizzed by to strafe ridges and unload deadly cargoes of napalm in much-appreciated support.[109] Yet even these anonymous, distant interactions with opposing forces made quite an impression on participants. If shells landed near enough, they sucked the breath right out of a man, leaving behind a blast of dust and gunpowder to remind him that at any moment his number might be up. When the enemy made it behind the lines or when Americans pressed into communist-held territory, the war had to be fought up close and personal. Soldiers, and even Marines, who disliked the defensive nature of foxhole fighting, generally tried to shoot from the relative safety of their fortified shelters, but not infrequently in this war there were "so god damn many" of the enemy that they "just kept coming," forcing Marines and doughboys alike to engage in hand-to-

[107] Korean War era soldier quoted in R. W. Apple, "U. S. Study Calls a Night Army Essential for Victory in Vietnam," *New York Times*, 6 August 1967, 6.
[108] Due to logistical issues, the Chinese could at most attack for about seven days before retreating. Carley, Oral History by Caudill, 24. See also Lewis Millett in Tomedi, *No Bugles, No Drums*, 115 for comments on the brevity of battle. Harry Van Zandt, Interview by Tara Liston and Tara Kraenzlin, 11 March 1996, 31, Transcript by Donovan Bezer, Andrew Noyes, Shaun Illingworth, Harry Van Zandt, and Sandra Stewart Holyoak, Rutgers Oral History Archives for World War II and Clawson in Tomedi, *No Bugles, No Drums*, 150.
[109] Ground troops frequently make note of the appreciation they held in Korea for air support, crediting Navy, Marine, or Air Force pilots with bringing them out of impossible situations alive. Major General John T. Carley, Oral History by Dr. Orley B. Caudill, 2 February 1978, Volume CVII (1979), transcript, Mississippi Oral History Program, University of Southern Mississippi, Hattiesburg, Mississippi, 24.

hand combat.[110] Men used bayonets, gun butts, knives, fists, and even helmets to stave off attackers. This close combat coupled with smaller squads than in previous wars and the need to use teamwork to destroy targets ensured that most Korean War infantrymen would fight and that a larger percentage of them would be willing to fire their weapons than in the last war.[111]

Not surprisingly, chaos sometimes prevailed on the battlefield. No matter how well-planned an engagement, close combat and the nature of warfare in Korea fostered confusion. At the Inchon Landing, one of the most carefully orchestrated actions of the Korean War, Marines discovered too late that their Korean interpreters could not speak English, guide boats had not arrived to lead them in, and their own boats had no compasses.[112] Communications throughout the war rested upon equipment salvaged from World War II and one location had to reach another by being patched through by other places on the line.[113] In some units, men did not even speak the same language. KATUSA (Korean Augmentation to United States Army) replacements frequently knew no English and the mixture of Koreans, Puerto Ricans, Hawaiians, and white or black Americans in the same platoons or companies meant that language classes had to be conducted when in reserve so that everyone could communicate on at least a basic level in battle.[114]

Also, hungry, thirsty, dirty, exhausted, and terrified, men in the thick of battle got lost in the moment, their attention "sharply focused on … [their] immediate surroundings, which

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[110] Lawson in Tomedi, *No Bugles, No Drums,* 87. Also, Baldovi in Baldovi, *A Foxhole View,* 209-210. Hand to hand combat was very common in the Korean War. See Kindsvatter, *American Soldiers,* 210.
[111] Some 53% of Korean War soldiers fired their weapons compared to 15% of men in World War II. Kelly C. Jordan, "Right for the Wrong Reasons: S. L. A. Marshall and the Ratio of Fire in Korea," *Journal of Military History* 66:1 (2002), 146 and 160.
[112] Ed Simmons in Tomedi, *No Bugles, No Drums,* 33.
[113] Terry Addison, *The Battle for Pusan: A Korean War Memoir* (Novato, CA: Presidio, 2000), 31. Fans of the television series *M*A*S*H* might remember Radar contacting one location through another.
[114] Jay Hidano in Tomedi, *No Bugles, No Drums,* 61 and Baldovi in Baldovi, *A Foxhole View,* 263.

nothing else gets into at all."[115] In such an atmosphere, things could and did happen. One new platoon leader confessed that in his first Korean engagement he forgot his rank and began to function as a rifleman.[116] Another soldier recalls that when a North Korean tried to surrender someone discharged a weapon causing everyone else to shoot in reaction.[117] In July 1950, at a small hamlet in South Korea called No Gun Ri, refugees allegedly first fell victim to misdirected American-conducted air strikes and then to the fire of soldiers of the U.S. 7th Cavalry who got spooked and mistook them for elements of the North Korean People's Army.[118] In other instances, ground troops went temporarily berserk. In the bayonet charge which won him the Congressional Medal of Honor, Lewis Millett "hit somebody in the throat with a bayonet, another one in the head" and killed a bunch of Chinese but later had "no memory of that at all."[119] During one firefight, a platoon mate of Vernon Warren determined he had to escape the war and stuck his hand out of the foxhole until he got shot.[120]

Seldom knowing "the reason behind what we were doing, what the objective was, or what was coming next," men on the front lines could hardly view battle as anything more than a

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[115] Nolan, interview by Cantwell, 29 December 1999, 3. See also Ent in Tomedi, *No Bugles, No Drums,* 20 and Sergeant First Class Al Kaff in "45th Tastes Blood on Korean Hillside," *Daily Oklahoman,* 27 January 1952, 1.
[116] Berry, Oral History by Caudill, 26.
[117] Moses Pakaki in Baldovi, *A Foxhole View,* 13.
[118] No Gun Ri remains a hotly contested topic in the history of the Korean War. Based in part on a falsified eye witness account, the Associated Press released a series of articles in 1999 alleging that civilians at No Gun Ri were intentionally massacred by Americans. While it seems clear that civilians were killed there, the number of deaths and circumstances surrounding them are still disputed by participants, the U.S. government, and reporters, further illustrating the chaos surrounding battle both during and after war. Many articles and several books have been written about the incident at No Gun Ri. See Robert L. Bateman, *No Gun Ri: A Military History of the Korean War Incident* (Mechanicsburg, PA: Stackpole Books, 2002); Sahr Conway-Lanz, *Collateral Damage: Americans, Noncombatant Immunity, and Atrocity After World War II* (New York: Taylor & Francis Group, 2006); and Hanley, Charles J., Sang-Hun Choe, and Martha Mendoza, *The Bridge at No Gun Ri: A Hidden Nightmare from the Korean War* (New York: Henry Holt & Company, 2001. A recent news article suggests that marines shot North Korean POWs at a hotel in Seoul. Eric Longabardi, Kit R. Roane, and Edward T. Pound, "A War Of Memories," *U.S. News and World Report,* 3 November 2003, 28-35.
[119] Lewis Millett in Tomedi, *No Bugles, No Drums,* 110-115.
[120] Vernon L. Warren in Bill Smith, "Black Soldiers Fully Shared Korean War's Bloody Cost," *St. Louis Post-Dispatch,* 20 February 2002, A1. See also Richard Suarez in Tomedi, *No Bugles, No Drums,* 95.

personal, "everyday affair of survival" and react accordingly.[121] Desperate to survive, more than a few men simply tried to run away from enemy fire, bugging out without orders to retreat. ROK troops and the all-black 24th Infantry Regiment developed such reputations for this, perhaps undeserved, that American G.I.s joked that the acronym KMAG (Korean Military Advisory Group) stood for "Kiss My Ass Goodbye" and composed little ditties like "The Bug Out Boogie."[122] But, meant as a derogatory comment on the nature of black soldiers and units, lines like "When them Chinese mortars begin to thud/The old Deuce-Four begin to bug./When they started falling 'round the CP tent/Everybody wonder where the high brass went./They were buggin' out/Just movin' on" as aptly described the behavior of many non-African Americans.[123] Whether men broke ranks of their own accord or followed orders to retreat, their situation grew only more precarious upon leaving the field. Alone or in small groups they lacked leadership and direction.[124] Throwing away weapons or canteens with no one to stop them, those fleeing argued amongst themselves over which direction to take or what to do, greatly increasing their chances of becoming casualties or prisoners of war.[125]

For men on the ground in Korea, combat could provide a source of exhilaration and pride unlike anything that they had previously experienced. The adrenalin rush and self-confidence

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[121] Thomas W. McLain (AFC 2001/001/256), Folder 1, "Remembering Korea, 28 June 1950-3 December 1951," an unpublished memoir, 51, VHPC, AFC, LOC. See also Uzal Ent and Fred Lawson in Tomedi, *No Bugles, No Drums,* 20 and 88 and Sergeant First Class Al Kaff in "45th Tastes Blood on Korean Hillside," *Daily Oklahoman,* 27 January 1952, 1. "No person can see an entire battle." Harold DeVries, Interview by Kirk Mathis in Havard, *By Word of Mouth,* 8.

[122] Blaine Friedlander in Tomedi, *No Bugles, No Drums,* 195-196.

[123] This particular ditty is quoted in Martin Binkin, Mark J. Eitelberg, Alvin J. Schexnider, and Marvin M. Smith, *Blacks and the Military* (Washington, D. C.: The Brookings Institution, 1982), 29.

[124] Marines seem to have fared better in general than Army infantrymen when the ranks broke. For soldiers, the situation often ended up being one of "every man for himself," with men either refusing to take charge or bickering about what direction to take. Terrified, more than a few even threw away their weapons or canteens in an effort to flee. Marines, on the other hand, through indoctrination during training more often regrouped with someone in command. Bob Roy and Richard Suarez in Tomedi, *No Bugles, No Drums,* 6-7 and 96 and Vendiola in Baldovi, *A Foxhole View,* 139.

[125] Vendiola in Baldovi, *A Foxhole View,* 134-135.

that came with performing well in firefights and escaping injury or death proved "enormously satisfying."[126] But, battles also engendered great fear and anxiety in those who fought them. In the heat of engagements with the enemy, participants "got the feeling that death was right around the corner and the next shell had my name written on it" and they were "scared as hell." "I almost wished I would get hit so I could be sent to the rear area to get away from the nightmare I found myself in."[127] Afterward, the lingering uncertainty of when the next attack would come caused some men to nearly crack. At night they didn't sleep because "there's too much to worry about; such as … are those little yellow bastards going to hit us tonight." They got jumpy when they heard gunfire, no matter how distant, and shook uncontrollably, cold with the fear that their luck might finally have run out.[128] With time enough to think, many G.I.s also became consumed with guilt, saddened because they had taken another life, given orders that got men killed, or survived while someone close to them perished in battle.[129] A few turned to drugs like phenol to quay their apprehensions while others developed strange and dangerous habits like going around in their sleeping bags or trying to get "million dollar wounds" without being killed.[130]

"Everyone has a limit" and in Korea some soldiers and Marines reached theirs, succumbing to combat fatigue.[131] In their foxholes, along the line, and even in reserve men broke down. With teeth chattering they sobbed uncontrollably, shivered, sweated, called

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[126] Nolan, interview by Cantwell, 29 December 1999, 14. Also, Uzal Ent in Tomedi, *No Bugles, No Drums,* 22.
[127] Stephens, *Old Ugly Hill,* 78 and Jack to Bud, 21 May 1951, Clarence Jackson Davis (AFC2001/001/1644), Folder 1, VHPC, AFC, LOC.
[128] Clarence Jackson Davis (AFC2001/001/1644), Folder 1, VHPC, AFC, LOC.
[129] Many veterans recount their feelings of guilt both during and after the war. See Peavy, interview by Holt, in Havard, *By Word of Mouth,* 29-30; Arthur W. Wilson in Cooper, "Vets Still Conflicted Over Korea," *Los Angeles Times,* 19 January 2000, 1; Kindsvatter, *American Soldiers,* 166; and Seymour "Hoppy" Harris, "Confessions" and "When Sleep Comes," Box EE, Folder A0956, CFSOKW.
[130] James Brady, *The Coldest War: A Memoir of Korea* (New York: Orion Books, 1990), 119.
[131] Nolan, interview by Cantwell, 29 December 1999, 9.

repeatedly for their mothers, and refused to take comfort. As Terry Addison says of one who cracked, "The war had gotten into his guts and he could not get it out."[132] Over the course of the Korean Conflict some 12% of American troops suffered combat stress reactions requiring treatment.[133] Acting on research begun in World War I, which suggested that evacuating a person from the war zone intensified shell shock, doctors in Korea generally treated mental health casualties just behind the lines with a few days rest, simple psychotherapy, and/or a supply of barbiturates. As a result, a majority of patients returned to duty, sometimes in a matter of days, ready again to face the rigors of living in a war zone.[134] This is not to say that they went back the same men they had been before their breakdowns. War, in which "things happen that are worse than anything you've ever seen and maybe anything that you could imagine," left indelible imprints even on those well enough to rejoin their units.[135]

The shared experience of battle usually served to draw men involved in the ground war in Korea closer together. As one veteran puts it, "These were my friends from combat, and no other activity or environment forges stronger relationships."[136] In part, they realized that their own survival depended upon the willingness of those around them to fight, risking their own

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[132] Addison, *The Battle for Pusan*, 142-143.

[133] Korea had a lower incidence of psychiatric casualties than World War II in which 23% of men suffered battle fatigue. Roger J. Spiller, "Shell Shock," *American Heritage* (May/June 1990), 77. One might assume that the lower rate of psychiatric casualties in Korea resulted from the rotation system which moved men out of the war zone in a matter of months rather than years as was sometimes the case during World War II. Also, many of those who broke down in Korea had already served in World War II, some of them having suffered battle fatigue in that war. Glass, "Psychiatry in the Korean Campaign," 1392.

[134] For information on shell shock and Korea, see Glass, Psychiatry in the Korean Campaign," 1387-1400; Kindsvatter, *American Soldiers*, 157-158 and 170; Spiller, "Shell Shock," 75-87; and Edgar Jones and Lt. Col. Ian P. Palmer, "Army Psychiatry in the Korean War: The Experience of 1 Commonwealth Division," *Military Medicine* 165 (April 2000), 256-260. Interestingly, the treatment of combat fatigue continues to evolve. Just as George Washington supplied the troops with rum rations at Valley Forge and the U.S. military provided amphetamines to men during the Vietnam War, many soldiers in Iraq and Afghanistan today receive prescription anti-depressants to help them continue to function in the war zone. Mark Thompson, "America's Medicated Army," *Time* 171:24 (16 June 2008), 38-42.

[135] Nolan, interview by Cantwell, 29 December 1999, 9.

[136] Charles M. Bussey, *Firefight at Yechon: Courage and Racism in the Korean War*(Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2002), 148.

lives on behalf of the group.[137] When the bullets began to fly, a man could no longer count on anything or anyone except for himself and his buddies. "You're depending on them, and they're depending on you."[138] But, the connection ran deeper than this. Men who fought together developed familial feelings for each other with the result that they struggled not just for their own survival but with a willingness to die or suffer wounds for their comrades. Of a mortally wounded radio operator in his unit, Martin Stephens remembers, "He did that for his pals. He did that for us."[139] Similarly, Douglas Humphrey, twice hit and finally killed by a grenade, refused to leave an attack because "he wanted to stay and help his friends as much as he could."[140] These ties compelled men to remain in position during combat and made leaving the war zone a difficult task for more than a few men when they rotated out.[141] Instinctively they knew that "there is something you get in battle that you get nowhere else. There is a camaraderie that is unique."[142] In the years after the war, many battle buddies would remain in close contact with one another, sharing an unbreakable bond forged decades earlier in the hills of Korea.

Just as combat in Korea cemented friendships among those who fought together, it fostered a deep loathing among Americans for the North Koreans, Chinese, and sometimes for Koreans in general. Saddened by their losses and terrified by the experience of battle, G.I.s blamed the enemy for their misery. If the North Koreans had not invaded South Korea or if the

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[137] This is not something unique to Korea. See Glen H. Elder, Jr. and Elizabeth C. Chipp, "Wartime Losses and Social Bonding: Influences Across 40 Years in Men's Lives," *Psychiatry* 51 (May 1988), 177-182.
[138] Fred Lawson in Tomedi, *No Bugles, No Drums*, 87.
[139] Sergeant Martin L. Stephens, "I Returned," unpublished memoir, 30 May 1953, NA, RG 319, Box 007.
[140] Note by Basil Humphrey included with letter from Douglas Humphrey to Bec, John, and Basil, 17 April 1951, 1st Cavalry Division, Surnames A-L, Department of the Army, U. S. Army Military History Institute, Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania. (Hereafter Carlisle Barracks)
[141] Baldovi in Baldovi, *A Foxhole View*, 270. Many authors have stressed the importance of comrades to men engaged in battle. S. L. A. Marshall went so far as to say, "I hold it to be one of the simplest truths of war that the thing which enables an infantry soldier to keep going with his weapons is the near presence of a comrade." Quoted in Jordan, "Right for the Wrong Reasons," 158. See also William L. Hauser, "The Will to Fight," in Sam Sarkesian, ed., *Combat Effectiveness: Cohesion, Stress, and the Volunteer* (Beverly Hills, CA: Sage, 1980), 192.
[142] Theodore S. "Ted" Williams in Berry, *Hey Mac, Where Ya Been?*, 260.

Chinese had just stayed home, American soldiers would not be fighting and dying over Korea's worthless, barren hills. And, the North Koreans especially did not fight fair. Americans greatly resented the atrocities perpetrated by North Koreans early in the war when they brutally murdered Americans who by rights should have been treated as prisoners of war.[143] They concluded, "Those Gooks! They're not even part human!"[144] Unsurprisingly, "many men fought with a visceral hatred of the enemy."[145] Sometimes that hatred transferred to all Koreans. South Korean civilians looked so much like North Korean adversaries that it could be difficult to tell the difference. How many times had a cloud of South Korean refugees shielded approaching North Korean soldiers disguised as peasants? And, with a culture so perceptibly inferior to the American way of life, many soldiers wondered what made any of them worth saving anyway, especially if the price might be one's own life.[146] A few Americans, however, did find a measure of compassion for their Asian adversaries. Fred Lawson felt sorry for Chinese soldiers sent in tennis shoes to fight in the cold of North Korea and Uzal Ent acknowledged that the enemy "was serving his country and following orders, just as I was doing for my country."[147] But, such instances proved rare. Like most men in war, the soldiers and Marines in Korea contentedly and perhaps necessarily vilified those whom they had to kill.

Generally stationed well away from the front lines and flying above much of the pandemonium, men involved in the air war experienced combat differently than their infantry counterparts. Unlike men on the ground, pilots and airmen often felt bulletproof. "There's no

[143] Kindsvatter, *American Soldiers*, 208.
[144] Corporal Clyde Queen in "No Nice Words as Wounded Sooner Tells of Korean War," *Daily Oklahoman*, 3 September 1950, 1.
[145] Uzal Ent in Tomedi, *No Bugles, No Drums*, 18.
[146] For an example of this way of thinking, see Seymour "Hoppy" Harris, "KIA's," Box EE, Folder A0956, CFSOKW.
[147] *Ibid.*, 18 and 88.

thought of getting shot down yourself. It's always the other guy who runs out of luck."[148] They had flight schedules telling them when they would fly missions and engage in combat, giving them the luxury of preparing both mentally and physically for the challenge ahead.[149] Also, many pilots, especially those dueling in the skies with MIGs, looked forward to facing the enemy. Though American pilots realized that other humans operated hostile aircraft and lived in the hillsides being bombed out, aerial warfare seemed impersonal to them. In general they did not see the blood spilling or the bones shattering.[150] They saw only puffs of smoke and flames on the ground and hunks of metal falling from the sky. Machines, not people, engaged in combat and suffered casualties.[151] Like a giant video game, Korea afforded airmen the opportunity to score points by shooting down enemy planes or destroying targets, and those points in the end translated into rank and medals for those lucky or skillful enough to collect them.[152] "Wrapped inside the cocoon of a high-tech fighting machine," aerial warfare in Korea definitely differed from "crawling through the mud, gun or knife in hand" on the front lines.[153] And, at the end of

[148] Navy pilot Jim Service, in Tomedi, *No Bugles, No Drums*, 159.
[149] Airmen did not always use their time to prepare for combat. All too often pilots drank heavily the night before a mission, reporting for duty with a hangover. Some even had to throw up on the taxiway before take off. However, almost all airmen did visit the latrines just before flying and with good reason. Planes afforded no restroom facilities and word of frequent in-flight "problems" had caused flight suits to acquire the nickname "poopsuits." Sherwood, *Officers in Flight Suits*, 82.
[150] Sherwood, *Officers in Flight Suits*, 90.
[151] See Pasqualicchio in Chancey and Forstchen, *Hot Shots*, 79.
[152] Pilots had to provide evidence of kills in order to get credit for them. Photographs would work, or confirmation by a wingman. Sherwood, *Officers in Flight Suits*, 71-72 and 88-89. Also, Bob Ennis in Tomedi, *No Bugles, No Drums*, 163.
[153] Pasqualicchio in Chancey and Forstchen, *Hot Shots*, 79. F-86 pilots flew 3 missions a week and 100 missions per tour of duty. After every 30 missions, pilots received an Air Medal. After 100, they got a Distinguished Flying Cross. Ace status was awarded to men with a certain number of kills and silver stars to men with spectacular service. In the Air Force, rank came as a direct result of performance in combat and number of missions flown. Sherwood, *Officers in Flight Suits*, 85-86.

the day, pilots flew back to the base or aircraft carrier where they could cozy up with a nice shot of whiskey while being debriefed and then hang out at the "O" Club until time for bed.[154]

All of this is not to say that pilots and their crews escaped the horrors of battle. Airmen, regardless of branch of service, risked their lives every time they went on a mission. Many died in the line of duty, "blown to bits as their shot-up planes exploded before they were able to reach the runway or crushed to death because a parachute didn't open when they bailed out," many more became prisoners of war, and some developed debilitating mental illnesses or the fear of flying.[155] Despite their belief in luck, almost none left Korea without a close call to remind them of their own mortality. Like Bud Biteman, they had scars or bullets as mementos, reminding them "how thin and fragile is the thread of 'luck' and just how close I came to using my entire allotment."[156] Also, pulling the trigger on targets sometimes proved anything but impersonal. After shooting a MIG, Harold Fischer pulled up alongside the burning, dying aircraft. Inside, the trapped pilot had no power, no place to land, and no way out of the insufferable heat. All Fischer could do was fire a few rounds behind the plane to try and shorten the pilot's misery while reflecting that the enemy consisted of only flesh and blood after all.[157] Other pilots had orders to fly low and strafe enemy troops, drop napalm in areas where both North Korean or Chinese and American forces would be hit, and stop waves of refugees by shooting into the crowd. They

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[154] In World War II, pilots received a 1 ounce shot of "mission whiskey" upon returning from a combat flight. Early in the war, Korean pilots did not receive a liquor ration, but later crews either got large volumes of alcohol at the end of the month or small quantities after each completed mission. Lieutenant Colonel Duane E. "Bud" Biteman in Chancey and Forstchen, *Hot Shots,* 24 and Sherwood, *Officers in Flight Suits,* 84.

[155] Extract from a letter from a GI in Korea, U. S. Senate, *Congressional Record,* 82nd Congress, 2nd sess., 8 January 1952-25 February 1952, vol. 98, part 1, 979. Sherwood, *Officers in Flight Suits,* 98-108. Almost 1200 Air Force personnel died in air combat and 36 died in ground actions. Thirty-five men captured remained in enemy hands a year after the war ended. Chancey and Forstchen, *Hot Shots,* 239-240.

[156] Biteman in Chancey and Forstchen, *Hot Shots,* 36. Some pilots sought to create and preserve their luck while in Korea. After trimming his moustache, "Pancho" Pasquilicchio got shot down, after which he did not trim his moustache again before combat for the next 300 missions. Qtd. in *Ibid.,* 71.

[157] Colonel Harold Fischer, Chancey and Forstchen, *Hot Shots,* 170.

discovered that talking about such missions in the "detached atmosphere of the Operations Office" differed considerably from actually implementing the plans and seeing people killed from a lower altitude.[158] Still, unlike most infantrymen who could not wait to get out of the war zone, many pilots lived for the missions. They extended their tours of duty, flew on holidays, used sexual language to describe their aircraft and their kills, and feared any injury which might keep them from flying again. "That's all we wanted to do, all of us. To be able to get up the next morning and fly an airplane."[159]

In Korea, as in every war, whether one served on the line, in the cockpit, or aboard ship, death lay at the heart of battle. In the name of country or in the interest of self-preservation, men in combat killed other men, inflicting collateral damage in the process. For some American servicemen, the transformation from civilian to combatant happened effortlessly. "It's like killing a rabbit if you're a hunter…You look at the enemy in abstract terms…as a cobra snake…it's something that needs to be destroyed."[160] For a few the changes came too easily and too completely. "We were highly successful killers and the greed to continue our trade was a force that drove us on…All we wanted to do was kill gooks. Kill gooks this minute, kill gooks by the thousand, kill them with hot lead, cold steel, or ripping explosives—but kill gooks."[161] But for most Americans, killing did not come naturally and the suffering and deaths they caused or witnessed affected them profoundly. Half a century after the war, Walter Benton still remembers with regret the ancient Korean woman he met on Christmas Eve 1950 while awaiting evacuation from Hungnam, North Korea. Bringing her to the warmth of the fire where he fed

[158] Biteman in Chancey and Forstchen, *Hot Shots,* 31. Also Arthur W. Wilson in Richard T. Cooper, "Vets Still Conflicted Over Korea," *Los Angeles Times,* 19 January 2000, 1.
[159] Sherwood, *Officers in Flight Suits,* 89-91 and Jim Service in Tomedi, *No Bugles, No Drums,* 159.
[160] Arthur L. Kelly, Interview by Russell Harris, 16 December 1993, 41.
[161] Addison, *The Battle for Pusan,* 53.

her tomato soup, the 18 year old listened to the old woman's tale of exhaustion and lost family and then tried to convince her to leave for a safer place. While "White Christmas" played in the background, Benton watched from the deck of the ship as charges set off to destroy abandoned munitions eviscerated the old woman.[162] Similarly, the memory of a Korean kid hit with napalm still haunts Jessie Forrest whose captain forbade him to shoot the boy and end his pain.[163] Facing the deaths of North Korean or Chinese soldiers should have been easier, and at the time they usually were, but pulling the trigger left men with loads of emotional baggage to carry long after the end of the war. As James Appleton writes, "It is hard for a veteran to explain … what it is like to line up an enemy soldier in the cross hairs of your sniper rifle, as this unassuming individual walks along not knowing that in the next instance you are going to squeeze the trigger of your rifle and take the top of his head off, and his mother will have lost a son and he will never have children of his own."[164]

Not all men in country or even in battle killed someone, but scarcely a combat survivor rotated out of Korea without first tasting the bitter harvest of death that war produced in abundance. In the last few months of 1950, soldiers not infrequently found their comrades murdered by the North Koreans. Rather than taking prisoners, Inmun Gun troops often simply beat and killed enemy soldiers that they happened across. As U.N. troops recovered South Korean land, they found the bodies of Americans with skulls smashed in and with hands lashed behind their backs and bullets in their heads.[165] Aside from these, plenty of other deaths played

[162] Walter C. Benton in Richard T. Cooper, "Vets Still Conflicted Over Korea," *Los Angeles Times*, 19 January 2000, 1.
[163] Jessie Forrest, interview by Heather Barge, *By Word of Mouth*, 10.
[164] James H. Appleton to Melinda Pash, 17 August 2004, in the author's possession.
[165] A wealth of information can be found on the atrocities committed by North Koreans against United Nations soldiers early in the war. See Lloyd Kreider, Bill Chambers, and Arnold Winter in Tomedi, *No Bugles, No Drums*,

out in the lives of men in Korea, too. Reluctantly leaving the safety of his foxhole to repair communications wires, Bennie Gordon returned to find his foxhole mate dead and for three days had to work around the body. In the aftermath of the enormous and chaotic Chinese offensive in North Korea in the winter of 1950, Vernon Warren discovered a friend with his entire backside blown off. Helpless, Warren bandaged the dying man and tried to calm him with reassurances that "you're going to make it."[166] Jim Dick radioed the field to inform Lieutenant Griffin that his wife had given birth to a baby boy only to learn that Griffin's head had just been blown off by a mortar round.[167] Jessie Forrest watched his buddy jump on a grenade. The man saved ten or twelve lives but lost his own.[168] After chasing a MIG all the way to China, Major Robinson Risner and pal Joe Logan ran out of fuel. Risner made it to safety, but after Logan bailed out his neck became entangled in his parachute and he drowned.[169] Becoming an instrument of death, Herman Lee Mingee relayed orders for his ship to open fire on a position where American Marines would be killed alongside North Koreans.[170] Crews aboard aircraft carriers celebrated in high fashion when ejected pilots made it back safely because all too often rescue came too late to save men from the enemy or the icy waters below.[171] Ships got torpedoed and sailors died in the line of duty.[172] Such scenes played out tens of thousands of times in the three years that men fought over real estate in Korea. Policymakers counted costs in terms of rounds of ammunition or dollars spent, but on the line men paid for the war with blood. They understood what it was

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25, 48, and 52-53; "Five Massacred GIs Buried," *Daily Oklahoman*, 12 July 1950, 11; "No Nice Words as Sooner Tells of Korean War," *Daily Oklahoman*, 3 September 1950, 1; and Kindsvatter, *American Soldiers*, 208.

[166] Bill Smith, "Black Soldiers Fully Shared Korean War's Bloody Cost, *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, 20 February 2002, A1.

[167] Arned L. Hinshaw, *Heartbreak Ridge, Korea, 1951* (New York: Praeger, 1989), 51.

[168] Jessie Forrest, Interview by Heather Barge, in Havard, *By Word of Mouth*, 10.

[169] John Darrel Sherwood, *Officers in Flight Suits*, 5.

[170] Herman Lee Mingee in Havard, *By Word of Mouth*, 24-25.

[171] James Michener, "The Forgotten Heroes of Korea," *Saturday Evening Post* 224 (May 10, 1952), 20-21 and 124.

[172] In 1951, Raymond Read went to Korea. When his ship was torpedoed, 26 men were killed and another 40 wounded and the dead had to buried at sea. Interview by Selitha Flemons in Havard, *By Word of Mouth*, 31-2.

like "to see your buddy, with whom you were talking … about girlfriends or home cooking, suddenly lying there in the trail with blood gushing out every orifice and he is trying to hold his guts in from spilling out on the ground."[173] And, this "loss of close friends is indescribable."[174] Ever-present, the smell, sight, and pain of death pervaded the Korean War battle experience.

For most servicemen, the tally of American war dead and wounded grew longer and more personal than they had imagined it would. As they watched comrades die, stumbled across bloodied G.I.s, and experienced close calls themselves, men became reminded of their own mortality and vulnerability. Not only were they not bulletproof, but their lives and those of the men with whom they shared foxholes or cockpits and stories could be snuffed out unexpectedly in an instant. Some, like Rolly Miller responded to such realizations by drawing closer to comrades, remarking "It's funny how a severe action kind of makes you feel like a family."[175] Others distanced themselves from those around them. Like Doug Michaud, they "no longer wanted any buddies." They stopped asking new men their names and kept to their own company as much as possible. That way, "If you get killed, I don't know you and I don't care. You're just another number, another rifle."[176]

Battle changed men on the inside. In order to survive, soldiers and airmen simply had to put their emotions aside and "get on with what had to be done."[177] "One could not, must not, be

[173] Letter James H. Appleton to Melinda Pash, 17 August 2004, in the author's possession.
[174] Richard C. Bevier to Melinda Pash, undated, in the author's possession.
[175] Lt. Rolly G. Miller to his mother, quoted by John O. Pastore, *Congressional Record*, *Appendix*, 82nd Congress, 1st sess., 1951, vol. 97, A5860.
[176] Doug Michaud in Donald Knox, *The Korean War: Pusan to Chosin: An Oral History* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich, 1985), 670. For a discussion of combat soldiers growing closer to or more distant from comrades, see Glenn H. Elder, Jr. and Elizabeth C. Chipp, "Wartime Losses and Social Bonding: Influences Across 40 Years in Men's Lives," *Psychiatry* 51 (May 1988), 177-198 and Kindsvatter, *American Soldiers*, 127.
[177] Jack Little in Ballenger, *The Final Crucible*, 20.

upset by death."[178] Thus, instead of crying over fallen comrades, men in Korea learned to greet the deaths around them calmly, matter-of-factly, perhaps even callously. In his diary, Raymond Myers recorded that he "Drove the jeep all day. We had chicken for supper. Draper got killed. A round hit right in his hole. All I could find was a piece of meat. Nothing else."[179] Similarly, reporter Marguerite Higgins noticed that "When someone was killed they [the Marines] would wearily, matter of factly, pick up the body and throw it in the nearest truck."[180] And, upon seeing a dead friend, Private First Class Guy Robinson fixed his eyes on the man ahead and kept walking.[181] In the war zone, on the battlefield, a man could only take note of the losses, attend a makeshift funeral if time allowed, and move on. Only later, when a man left the war, could he begin to deal with the guilt, regret, and emptiness saved up from the tragedies of Korea. Only then could he ask, "Could I have done better? If I'd done a better job, would fewer men have died?"[182] And only then could a man know if when he left the war, the war left him. Combat did not stop for such questions, and, if one looked away for too long, he might run out of time for answers. In battle, men necessarily had to focus their attention sharply on survival and if they succeeded in surviving, they somehow had to learn to live within the war.

Living Within War

[178] William D. Dannenmaier, *We Were Innocents: An Infantryman in Korea* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1999), 1.
[179] Raymond Myers, diary entry for 9 October 1951 in Hinshaw, *Heartbreak Ridge,* 110.
[180] Marguerite Higgins, *War in Korea: The Report of a Woman Combat Correspondent* (Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1951), 196.
[181] Hinshaw, *Heartbreak Ridge,* 11-12.
[182] Arthur W. Wilson in Richard T. Cooper, "Vets Still Conflicted Over Korea," *Los Angeles Times,* 19 January 2000, 1.

Undoubtedly, combat produced the most poignant memories for those who fought and made for some of the best stories later. And, in the years since the Korean War, moviemakers and historians alike have almost exclusively memorialized battles like Pork Chop Hill or the retreat from Chosin Reservoir. But, battles seldom lasted more than a week or so and never for any given person's entire tour of duty. Whether sheltered in foxholes or bunkers on the front lines, stationed at hospitals or aboard ship, or harbored safely in reserve within the confines of territory held tightly by the U. N., men and women lived within the war without constantly participating in it. In reality, most, if not all, Americans spent far more time living in Korea than fighting there. Their war was "one of long periods of great boredom with a few flashes of intense terror."[183] As Thomas McLain wrote his parents in the spring of 1951, "Combat sure is different than I figured. I thought you fought day and night but sometimes it's days before I even hear a shot fired….We seldom even see the Chinks."[184] Still, "nothing ever came easy in Korea."[185]

For men and women accustomed to luxuries like home-cooked meals, telephone service, electricity, clean clothing and bedding, furnaces, and running water, the primitive living conditions in country made them long for home. Except in places like Seoul, where modern buildings existed, American military personnel lived in crude and simple dwellings. Where practical, such as at airfields or mobile hospital sites behind the lines, tents surrounded by sandbags became temporary or even permanent shelters. These had the distinct advantage of being above ground, but often they lacked electricity, running water, adequate heating and

[183] Arnoldo A. Muniz in Granfield, *I Remember Korea,* 33-35. Major James Kiser, an Air Force pilot, echoes this same sentiment, talking about moments, not months, of terror. See Kiser in Chancey and Forstchen, *Hot Shots,* 85.
[184] Thomas W. McLain (AFC 2001/001/256), Folder 1, "Remembering Korea, 28 June 1950-3 December 1951," an unpublished memoir, 60, VHPC, AFC, LOC.
[185] Rudolph W. Stephens, *Old Ugly Hill: A G.I.'s Fourteen Months in the Korean Trenches, 1952-1953* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland and Company, 1995), 72.

ventilation, flooring other than dirt, and any semblance of privacy.[186] Pilots, who below the rank of major shared "hootch" space with 6 to 12 other men, piled up packing crates and debris inside their tents to carve out private cubicles for themselves. Standard furnishings included small oil burning stoves for heat, candles for light, and G.I. cots, but not much else.[187]

Intended for common use, showers and latrines could be found outside somewhere, an unpleasant fact given the extreme winter temperatures in Korea, and these left little room for secrets among those who shared them. At the "40-seater thunderbox" at one airbase, pilots sat shoulder to shoulder on a long wooden bench with holes in it to do their business.[188] Elsewhere troops straddled shallow ditches, called slit trench latrines, or sat back to back when relieving themselves.[189] For all of their privations, however, those who lived in Korea's tent cities had many benefits unavailable to the men holed up in the country's hills, including ready access to cheap labor. Pilots and others often employed native laborers to clean the barracks and latrines, do their laundry, shine their shoes, keep stoves burning all night, serve them in the mess hall, and make life in country more pleasing and comfortable.[190]

In the field and at the front, accommodations afforded far fewer luxuries to occupants than did the tents. There, men lived in dusty, moist holes shoveled into the ground or hillsides in an attempt to protect themselves from enemy fire and attack. For months they slept on "nothing better than the ground with some straw on it."[191] As the war stalemated, forcing men to live in the same positions for many months, trenches eroded and some shelters collapsed in landslides

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[186] Sherwood, *Officers in Flight Suits*, 120-122 and Biteman in Chancey and Forstchen, *Hot Shots*, 20.
[187] Some veterans recall that only officers got heaters for their quarters and that everyone else had to stay warm as best they could. See Arthur L. Kelly, Interview by Russell Harris, 16 December 1993, 23.
[188] Sherwood, *Officers in Flight Suits*, 122.
[189] Many veterans accounts, both male and female, mention the use of slit trench latrines. See Hicks, Interview by Trojanowski, 25 February 1999, 8. Also, Baldovi in Baldovi, *A Foxhole View*, 206.
[190] Sherwood, *Officers in Flight Suits*, 116.
[191] Jack to Bud, 21 May 1951, Clarence Jackson Davis (AFC2001/001/1644), Folder 1, VHPC, AFC, LOC.

or from the weight of wet sandbags, causing men to have to dig deeper.[192] Over time, conditions in these permanent bunkers grew increasingly grim. When men rotated out, they left behind piles of garbage and, in some cases, towers of human waste. Not only did the number of men outstrip the available space at latrines, but the potential danger of traversing the ground between foxholes and bathrooms discouraged some from making any unnecessary trips to the pit toilets. As a result, four inch "piss tubes" appeared outside of many dugouts, creating stalagmites of frozen urine in the winter and puddles of filth in warmer weather.[193] Unlike latrines, nobody bothered to burn these makeshift urinals or police the mess men made using them. Attracted by all the refuse, rats infested almost all living quarters, providing a constant source of irritation and illness for the men inside.[194]

Soldiers and Marines stuck living in such places would have welcomed a bath or fresh clothing, but field conditions left many with virtually no access to showers or laundry facilities. When on the move, men might happen across places to bathe or wash, but they had little time to spare for personal hygiene and could end up regretting any such efforts on their part. Trying to keep clean, Harry Van Zandt washed his only two pairs of socks just before being ordered to march. For six days he wore wet socks inside of his rubber shoe packs with the result that his skin came off with the socks once he removed them and he developed a chronic case of athlete's foot.[195] When troops did park somewhere along the front, showers were far enough behind the lines to discourage men from frequenting them. Along the main line of resistance and on outposts water had to be carried in, sometimes across "no-man's land" in full view of the

[192] Ballenger, *The Final Crucible*, 34.
[193] Ballenger, *The Final Crucible*, 35.
[194] Tomedi, *No Bugles, No Drums*, 176 and Kindsvatter, *American Soldiers*, 44. Some men contracted hantavirus, caused by exposure to rodents, while in Korea. See Bernstein, *Monsters and Angels*, 293.
[195] Van Zandt, Interview by Liston and Kraenzlin, 11 March 1996, 31.

enemy.[196] As a result, men made the most of every drop of water they had. On outposts, men boiled coffee, drank some of it, and washed their faces and brushed their teeth with the residue.[197] Everywhere, soldiers and Marines got filthy quick and stayed that way.[198] G.I.s worked, dug holes, sweat, bled, fought, and slept in the same pair of fatigues until relieved by another unit or sent into reserve. After three weeks in Korea, Harrison Lee realized "I still had on the same set of fatigues that I was wearing when I landed at Pusan."[199] He was fortunate. Elgen Fujimoto spent 63 days on the line before he finally got to take a hot shower and change clothes.[200] In wintertime, wearing the same uniforms could prove especially problematic. Though warm, the bulk of winter garments made using the bathroom a real challenge and some men couldn't get out of them fast enough.[201] Men smelled like the holes they lived in or worse, suffered from dysentery and lice, and developed hacking coughs that never seemed to go away.[202]

As an added burden, throughout the war troops had difficulty obtaining all of the supplies and equipment that they needed or wanted. Early in the war, soldiers had trouble getting such necessities as ammunition and anti-tank weapons. Caught in North Korea in the winter of 1950 when the Chinese entered the conflict, soldiers and Marines could still complain that they had to deal with ammunition shortages, but they could add depleted provisions of food and an inadequate supply of cold weather gear to their list of supply problems.[203] By February 1951,

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[196] Ballenger, *The Final Crucible,* 38.
[197] Ballenger, *The Final Crucible, 38.*
[198] Tom Clawson in Tomedi, *No Bugles, No Drums,* 150.
[199] Corporal Harrison Lee in Baldovi, *A Foxhole View,* 44.
[200] Corporal Elgin Fujimoto in Baldovi, *A Foxhole View,* 275.
[201] Sergeant First Class Charles Chang in Baldovi, *A Foxhole View,* 261.
[202] Private First Class Robert Hamakawa in Baldovi, *A Foxhole View,* 234-5; Bernstein, *Monsters and Angels,* 283; and Kindsvatter, *American Soldiers,* 44.
[203] Kindsvatter, *American Soldiers,* 41 and Jay Hidano, Nick Nishimoto, and Bertram Sebresos, in Baldovi, *A Foxhole View,* 84, 94, and 98.

servicemen fighting near Seoul began writing home asking for food and canned goods to supplement the "gook rice" on which they had to survive.[204] Once the war stalemated, it became more difficult to fill requisitions as politicians and bureaucrats tried to limit war costs while waiting for some kind of peace agreement. Fighting on an outpost, John Sullivan complained that he had flamethrowers but couldn't get the two dollar disks to ignite them. He, probably accurately, placed the blame on a battalion commander who was "screwing around with some idiotic cost-reduction program."[205] On a personal level, men in the outposts and along the main line of resistance could seldom get little luxuries like candles or paper and pencils through the regular channels. Unfortunately, as in most wars, troops in the rear echelons took many of these items out of supply shipments long before they could reach the fighting war up front. If a soldier were determined or clever enough, however, he might be able to get some things on his own, much like Radar O'Reilly in the television sitcom *M*A*S*H.* In Korea, possession often depended less upon official authorization than upon one's ingenuity. Men secured the things they wanted or needed by bargaining with other individuals or units. Arthur Kelly remembers that his unit swapped lumber to the Marines for the use of a bulldozer so that they did not have to hand-dig their artillery bunker.[206] All too often, though, not even a good trade could produce the necessary items. Ralph Parr, a pilot, had a pair of flying gloves and a flight suit only because he brought them with him to Korea. Other pilots simply did without these essential pieces of equipment early in the war. And, Parr had to wear a broken jet helmet held together by masking

[204] "They're Hungry, GIs Tell Folks," *Daily Oklahoman,* 16 February 1951, 22. This article makes it clear that soldiers in Korea are complaining about the amount of food rather than the quality of food they are receiving. However, it is difficult to verify whether the military simply did not furnish enough food or if soldiers far from home wanted to compel their families to send food from home and thus overstated their hunger. None of the memoirs consulted by this author seem to back up a claim that the military failed to feed men properly, except in places where they could not be resupplied readily, such as in North Korea in the winter of 1950.
[205] Sullivan, *Toy Soldiers,* 58-61.
[206] Kelly to Harris, 16 December 1993, 57.

tape while other men donned plastic football helmets for flying because the Air Force had not yet issued jet helmets to those in Korea.[207] In all wars, supplying the troops presents logistical, financial, and other problems. The nature of the Korean War as a limited war intensified these issues, straining the resolve and commitment of people on the home front to the conflict and to the men fighting it. Sadly, the Korean War proved too easy to ignore and men and women in country often found the things which might have eased the stresses of Korea beyond their reach.

Despite occasional shortages, however, the military did usually manage to provide troops with regular rations of food. Behind the lines, mess tents offered at least one hot meal a day, a luxury that troops in reserve took advantage of and appreciated.[208] Most combat soldiers, though, even once the war turned static, found walking to the mess tent both dangerous and impractical and so they subsisted on the food delivered to their positions. When possible, Korean laborers brought warm meals in containers to soldiers, but more often these G.I.s ate cold C-Rats straight from the cans.[209] During the Korean War, C-Rats or combat rations consisted of several little cans of food, including entrees like spaghetti and meatballs, chicken stew, beans and franks (a favorite dish), ham and lima beans (an unpopular selection known widely as "ham and motherfuckers"), and beef stew as well as items like canned fruit, tinned biscuits, candy bars or chocolate, coffee, and beverage powders. Meant to supply a man for an entire day, C-Rat boxes, shaped sort of like shoeboxes, also contained toilet paper, soap, cigarettes, gum, and little

[207] Colonel Ralph Parr in Chancey and Forstchen, *Hot Shots,* 105.
[208] When talking about time in reserve, Robert Fernandez says almost everything was terrible, but that they got hot meals twice a day. See Fernandez in Baldovi, *A Foxhole View,* 255.
[209] Many veterans recall that their staple diet in Korea consisted of cold combat rations eaten from the cans. See Ted White and Tom Clawson in Tomedi, *No Bugles, No Drums,* 126 and 150 and Granville Cox in Havard, *By Word of Mouth,* 5-6. The quartermaster in Korea did not provide equipment to carry hot meals forward, so when hot food reached the line it was due to Korean laborers who carried the food and trays up and then returned to the kitchen with the dirty dishes. See Congress, House of Representatives, Committee on Appropriations, *Department of the Army Appropriations for 1957: Hearings Before the Subcommittee of the Committee on Appropriations,* 84th Congress, 2d Session, 1956, 232-233.

can openers.[210] As long as men stayed put at their holes, most of the ration might be consumed, but not uncommonly young Americans ended up pocketing and eating only the sweets—canned peaches or candy—and either abandoning the remainder when they moved out or trading it for local produce or someone else's fruit or cigarettes . Not surprisingly, soldiers and Marines lost weight while living on the line and many of them got cavities.[211]

A host of other things made life in Korea unpalatable for Americans. For those living in the foxholes and trenches across from the North Koreans or Chinese, enemy propaganda made life miserable. In its most innocuous form, such efforts consisted of scattered leaflets admonishing the Americans to stop trying to grab Korea for themselves.[212] But, the Communists found other, more effective techniques to demoralize and terrorize American troops before the war's end. Sometimes they beat drums or blew "Taps" at dark to remind their captive audience in the opposite trench line that Korea might offer them nothing but death.[213] Other times they played American music in an attempt to make soldiers homesick or produced eerie sounds to frighten them.[214] The North Koreans and Chinese also made nightly broadcasts over loudspeakers or on the radio. These ranged from almost laughable attempts to convince G.I.s of the righteousness of the communist cause to more haunting presentations given in flawless English. At least one American woman, Anne Walker Suhr, dubbed "Seoul City Sue" by

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[210] See Kindsvatter, *American Soldiers*, 46; Ted White in Tomedi, *No Bugles, No Drums*, 126; and Addison, *Battle for Pusan*, xiii. Also see Ballenger, *The Final Crucible*, 41.
[211] Dannenmaier, *We Were Innocents*, 225; Baldovi in Baldovi, *A Foxhole View*, 198; and Matthias, *The Korean War*, 176. As an example of the weight loss that could occur among those fighting in Korea, Boris R. Spiroff dropped from 170 to 150 pounds and noted that in his company there were no longer any fat people. See Spiroff, *Korea*, 66.
[212] Mauldin, *Bill Mauldin in Korea*, 63. For examples of these leaflets, see SGM Herbert A. Friedman (retired), "Communist North Korea War Leaflets" at http://www.psywarrior.com/NKoreaH.html.
[213] One young American felt so affected by this ritual that he made a point of killing the Chinese bugler and taking the bugle. See Jim "Bill" Peavy, interview by Melissa Holt in Havard, *By World of Mouth*, 29-30.
[214] Ballenger, *The Final Crucible*, 176-178. Ballenger goes on to say that Americans also employed psychological warfare against the Chinese. He notes that a South Korean woman flew above the Chinese lines encouraging them to surrender, which some subsequently did.

soldiers in Korea, lent her voice to the communist propaganda effort. Suhr, a onetime Methodist missionary to Korea who had married a Korean national and adopted his communist beliefs, aired a radio program during the war in which she read aloud the names of dead Americans while jangling dog tags in the background.[215] Frequently North Koreans and Chinese called out the names of the men and units across from them, making soldiers aware that the enemy knew who they were, and encouraging them to surrender or go home. Black soldiers especially found themselves targets of psychological warfare. Grant Hauskins, an African American veteran, remembers hearing, "Hey black soldier, what are you doing here, your war is not here but on the streets of America, where they treat you like pigs and dogs."[216] Regardless of color, patriotism, or corps, enemy propaganda had the effect of making young Americans living a world away from home more lonely, frightened, homesick, and tired of war. And, in an environment where sleep came only with difficulty anyway, these chilling messages from the enemy further ensured a lack of rest for Americans on the front lines.[217]

Along with physical discomfort, troops living within the war zone faced mental challenges. Even during periods of calm, the landscape of Korea provided ample reminder that "the business of war is to kill."[218] At church services, men received communion with "rifles

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[215] Roy E. Appleman, *South to the Naktong, North to the Yalu* (Washington, D.C.: Center of Military History, U.S. Army, 1992), 351n; Herbert A. Friedman, "Communist North Korea War Leaflets," online at http://www.psywarrior.com/NKoreaH.html; and Edwards, *To Acknowledge a War,* 79. See also an account of Peiping Polly in Brenda Gayle Plummer, *Rising Wind: Black Americans and U.S. Foreign Affairs, 1935-1960* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996), 206.

[216] Grant Hauskins, Interview with Nathan Stanley, 25 April 1997, 3 (online at http://mcel.pacifcu.edu/as/students/stanley/hoskins/html).

[217] Many combat soldiers talk about the inability to sleep while in Korea—and sometimes for years afterward. Survival depended upon one's ability to remain alert in case of enemy attack. See Matthias, *The Korean War,* 133 and Harold Devries, Interview by Kirk Mathis in Havard, *By Word of Mouth,* 7-8. Underscoring the dangers of sleeping, Corporal Gary Hashimoto recounts the story of a young replacement who arrived at dusk, dug in, and was found dead the next morning from knife wounds. Falling asleep cost him his life. See Hashimoto in Baldovi, *A Foxhole View,* 151.

[218] Ballenger, *The Final Crucible,* 44.

slung from their shoulders" and wondered if they would be "forgiven for breaking the commandment, 'Thou shall not kill.'"[219] More conspicuously, American G.I.s frequently used enemy bodies as protective barricades or simply left them where they had fallen. In winter, these froze solid, but in warmer weather they rotted on the concertina wire below the trenches, an unappetizing view for the men eating and living above.[220] Arthur Kelly remembers walking past a leg sticking up out of the ground and wondering who the man was and if his family knew he was dead. For him, this symbolized "the reality of war…an inhumane, sad thing."[221] Others felt a keen sense of tragedy or even guilt when confronted with the presence of refugees or orphans. Having lost everything, including family, South Koreans survived by begging or living off of American waste. As Major Dean Hess, who founded the first Air Force sponsored orphanage in Korea, noted, "It was both heartbreaking and nauseating to see these ragged children lean over and dip their swill with tin cans, trying to scoop up choice morsels from our garbage."[222] Many Americans did what they could to alleviate the suffering around them. G.I.s shared their food, donated time and money to relief projects, and provided medical assistance to civilians. Some even advertised in stateside newspapers for shoes, clothing, candy, soap, and other things to be distributed to needy Koreans on Christmas Day.[223] In the end, though, most could not help but feel haunted by the shattered lives and sad images all around them.

American troops might have coped better emotionally with the devastation they witnessed if they believed the war had some larger purpose, but "very few of us involved in the

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[219] Spiroff, *Korea*, 56.
[220] Owen, *Colder Than Hell*, 203; Curtis James Morrow, *What's a Commie Ever Done to Black People? A Korean War Memoir of Fighting in the U.S. Army's Last All Negro Unit* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland and Company, 1977), 60; and Stephens, *Old Ugly Hill*, 171-172.
[221] Arthur L. Kelly, Interview by Russell Harris, 16 December 1993, 40.
[222] Quuoted in Sherwood, *Officers in Flight Suits*, 118.
[223] "Send a Xmas Gift to Korea," *Pittsburgh Courier*, 14 November 1953, 20.

war understood why we were there."[224] Of course, almost everyone heard the rhetoric, that the U.S. had undertaken the defense of South Korea to protect the world against the spread of communism and preserve democracy in however small a place. Many even accepted this as worthwhile. "I was going to fight for a country against the aggression of North Korea and the arms and weapons support from Red China as well as the USSR….at the time and even today the fight was worth it!"[225] In a similar vein, before he was killed in action, Rolly Miller wrote home, "We are fighting a godless thought … we're combating this ideology. If we accomplish nothing more than proving to the world we'll fight with the little guy to protect his dignity as a human being, I feel we have done enough to justify the sacrifices we have made."[226] Stirred by patriotism, others asserted, "I love America and always will, and I'm ready to give everything for her—even life itself if that's what God wants."[227]

In light of ugly realities like bombed out villages and American casualties, vague generalizations tended to ring hollow.[228] As one G.I. put it, "We heard all the bullshit about fighting the spread of communism to protect our land of liberty. What the hell did we know about communism? Not a motherfuckin' thing."[229] Reflecting upon democracy back in the States and the segregation that it tolerated, black soldiers in particular wondered, "What the hell am I doing over here" and "What had the commies ever done to us black people (that is, before

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[224] Matthias, *The Korean War,* xiii.
[225] Don Harrington, *Korean War Veteran Survey*, 3, CFSOKW.
[226] Lt. Rolly G. Miller to his mother, quoted by John O. Pastore, *Congressional Record*, *Appendix*, 82nd Congress, 1st sess., 1951, vol. 97, A5860.
[227] Extract from a letter from a GI in Korea, U. S. Senate, *Congressional Record*, 82nd Congress, 2nd sess., 8 January 1952-25 February 1952, vol. 98, part 1, 979
[228] Soldiers in Korea, then, were not so very different from their counterparts in the Vietnam War. Many soldiers went to Vietnam believing in the mission of stopping communism and helping the people of Vietnam only to feel after arriving that the destruction of villages and terrorization of civilians taking place had little to do with that goal. The war that soldiers lived contradicted the official justifications given by the government. See Christian G. Appy, *Working-Class War: American Combat Soldiers and Vietnam* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1993), 6-8 and 207-208.
[229] Morrow, *What's a Commie Ever Done to Black People?*, 34.

we came to Korea)?"[230] Furthermore, as the war dragged on, Americans in Korea sensed that there existed no viable means of winning the war and no way of measuring victory anyway.[231] They might fight forever and still not make a dent in the Chinese army much less drive it off the Korean Peninsula. Eventually, some men found their own rationales for fighting the war—to provide a more hopeful future for the children of South Korea, to ensure that communists would never again try to subdue a free nation, to prove their loyalty to the Constitution and the United States—and now, more than half a century later, most agree that their service meaningfully contributed to American national security and endowed South Koreans with the freedoms they presently enjoy. But at the time, a lot of American servicemen thought of Korea as nothing more than "a miserable war … and a useless war" and their only goal was to survive it one day at a time.[232] In 1951 David Duncan, a photographer for *Life,* asked a Marine in Korea, "If I were God and could give you anything you wanted, what would you ask for?" The Marine didn't ask for peace or freedom or even the chance to go home. He simply said, "Gimme tomorrow."[233]

Whether or not they believed in their mission or in American involvement in Korea, Americans living in country struggled with their feelings toward the home front. Certainly, almost everyone suffered from homesickness and tried to keep in touch with what was happening in the States. Millions of letters passed back and forth between men and women in Korea and their loved ones back home. Newspapers printed servicemen's advertisements imploring people

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[230] *Ibid.* and Grant Hauskins, Interview by Nathan Stanley, 25 April 1997, online at http://mcel.pacificu.edu/as/students/stanley/hoskins.html.
[231] See Berry, *Hey, Mac, Where Ya Been?*, 4; Ballenger, *The Final Crucible,* 78; and Kindsvatter, *American Soldiers,* 152.
[232] Van Zandt, Interview by Liston and Kraenzlin, 11 March 1996, 33. One soldier even wrote President Truman a letter asking, "How many years are you going to let American manpower, materials, and money drain into this Korean sewer? How many more of my men must die on account of your stubborn refusal to pull out of Korea?" Letter to President Truman from Lt. Gale O. Buuck in extension of remarks of Clare E. Hoffman, *Congressional Record, Appendix,* 82nd Congress, 1st sess., January 1951-October 1951, vol. 97, A1834.
[232] Sullivan, *Toy Soldiers,* 20.
[233] Marguerite Higgins, *War in Korea: The Report of a Woman Combat Correspondent,* 196.

to "Please Write this Lonely GI" or send homemade goodies like cakes and cookies to those serving overseas.[234] And, people responded to such pleas. In little towns and big cities all across America, women formed circles to buy and ship familiar sundries like paper, soap, shaving cream, razors, and candy to the war zone.[235] A few young ladies even became romantically invested in the pen pals they made, bringing men closer to home in mind if not in body.[236] Men also pumped new replacements for any sort of stateside news.[237] They wanted to know what bands or songs were being played back home, what hometown newspapers were saying about the war, and who looked good for the World Series. Like Edgar Miller, they tuned in to "Voice of America" on the radio. "Even though it wasn't my hometown, it was America, and the station brought 'home' to me as I listened."[238] Americans held tight to their memories and pictures and from their tents and dugouts they dreamed about returning to hot ham and egg breakfasts, clean sheets, cold beer, new cars, Sunday dinners, and all the other things about home and country that they "so completely took for granted before I left."[239]

But, while G.I.s often longed to rotate back to the States and worked to maintain connections with the home front, interactions from the war zone could prove disheartening and disappointing. On a personal level, many men found their relationships with girlfriends, wives,

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[234] See "Gifts for GIs Wanted" and "Please Write this Lonely GI," *Pittsburgh Courier*, 15 March 1952, 3. People did respond to these advertisements, sending letters and homemade treats to men overseas.

[235] In 1955, one newspaper article thanked ten women for sending goods to hometown servicemen in Korea over a four year period. See "Thanks from the Outposts of Korea," *Nutley Sun*, 17 February 1955, printed in the Extension of Remarks of Peter W. Rodino, Jr., *Congressional Record, Appendix*, 84th Congress, 1st sess., January 1955-August 1955, Vol. 101, A1167.

[236] While many men benefited from such relationships, they did not always prove permanent. At least one woman complained publicly of being dumped by her soldier pen pals once they rotated out of Korea. "Girl's Heart Broken by Soldier in Korea," *Baltimore Afro-American*, 22 August 1953, 20.

[237] Victor Fox in Knox and Coppel, *The Korean War: Uncertain Victory*, 27. Learning of a devastating flood in Kansas and Missouri, one machine gun platoon sent a $500 check to a relief fund. "Combat GIs Help Victims of Floods," *Daily Oklahoman*, 13 August 1951, 8.

[238] Edgar L. Miller in Granfield, *I Remember Korea*, 112-114.

[239] From a young soldier's letter to his wife, quoted in Ballenger, *The Final Crucible*, 50-51. Also see Charles King in Bill Smith, "Black Soldiers Fully Shared Korean War's Bloody Cost," *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, 20 February 2002, A1; Spiroff, *Korea*, 18; and Kindsvatter, *American Soldiers*, 108.

family, and friends strained by the long separation. Letters might keep them in touch, but mail was at best a "poor substitute for conversation" and "woefully inadequate" at maintaining feelings of closeness. Couples like Charles Bussey and his wife Thelma moved "further and further apart" with each passing month, and many men's marriages unraveled while they remained stuck in Korea.[240] Not uncommonly, men discovered that their spouses, unable to cope with the lengthy deployment, had sought comfort with someone else back home.[241] Others, like Frank Bifulk, simply received "Dear John" letters which unexpectedly informed them that one less person was awaiting their return from the war.[242] With no way to lobby for themselves in person, servicemen could do little but try to put the sadness behind them and focus on surviving in country. Even when things seemed fine, soldiers and Marines worried about being forgotten or forsaken by the ones they had left behind and letters home reflected a deep need for reassurance. As Thomas McLain wrote, "I'm not worried about myself hon, I'm worried about you. I want to be sure and have your love when I get back."[243] Songs like "Dear John Letter" and "Korea Blues" revealed and perhaps deepened these fears of losing lovers or friends because of duty in Korea.[244]

Under the best of circumstances, marriages and other relationships weathered the challenges of distance and time, giving men the feeling that they had someone to live for and

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[240]Bussey, *Firefight at Yechon,* 96-97.

[241] Ralph Hammersmith wrote to Senator Robert Taft on behalf of his son in Korea who had learned that his wife was pregnant by another man and wanted a divorce so that he could declare a new beneficiary for his insurance should he be killed. The Army said the soldier would have to wait until he returned home to get a divorce. Ralph Hammersmith to Robert A. Taft, 20 February 1953, Taft Papers, Box 1077, LOC.

[242] Owen, *Colder than Hell,* 171. After receiving "Dear John" letters, many men broke down. They "deserted, committed suicide, became fatally careless in battle." Kindsvatter, *American Soldiers,* 109.

[243] Thomas W. McLain in a letter dated 16 February 1951, (AFC 2001/001/256), Folder 1, "Remembering Korea, 28 June 1950-3 December 1951," an unpublished memoir, 47, VHPC, AFC, LOC.

[244] In "Korea Blues," a GI mourns, "I was just sittin' here wonderin', who you gonna let lay down in my bed?/What hurt me so bad, think about some man has gone in your bed." Quoted in Doris Schmidt, "Americans Change Their Tune: The Korean War in Country and Folk Music, as Represented in Billboard and Sing Out! Magazines," 47-48, Box "A.0776 to A.0806," folder 0784, CFSOKW.

something to tie them to their old lives. These connections, however, did not always result in complete satisfaction on the part of those who participated in the war. Men in country needed to believe that they could rotate back to the States and be the husbands, brothers, sons, and friends that they had been before this conflict. But, a great many feared that the things they had done or seen in Korea had worked too many changes on them, changes that people back home would not be able to accept.[245] Combat veterans especially felt that "there was no way the folks at home could understand any part of my life."[246] And, to a large extent, they were probably right. Back on Main Street, old notions of appropriateness still ruled the day, but in the topsy turvy world of the war where very little made sense anyway, different standards applied. Here, profanity became the preferred, habitual means of expression and irreverence dominated the humor and outlook of the average G.I.[247] In medical units, doctors rushed to the bedsides of critical patients who turned out to be skeletons outfitted with fake medical tags and diagnoses like diarrhea or fractured skull.[248] Infantrymen sang ballads with verses like "F*** 'em all, f*** 'em all,/The Commies, the U.N. and all;/Those slant-eyed Chink Soldiers/Struck Hagaru-ri/And now we know the meaning of USMC…."[249] Men sewed stars on their fatigues and declared themselves generals with the rationale that "Nobody in this chicken shit outfit promoted me, so I promoted myself."[250] And soldiers composed poems like "Appropriateness" which demonstrated that in

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[245] For a discussion of the interplay between the soldier and the home front and the soldier's perception that combat changed him, refer to Gerald F. Linderman, *The World Within War: America's Combat Experience in World War II* (NewYork: The Free Press, 1997), Chapter 8.
[246] Bussey, *Firefight at Yechon,* 96.
[247] Matthias, *The Korean War,* 87.
[248] Hinshaw, *Heartbreak Ridge,* 13.
[249] James Wallace, "Bloody Chosin: The Blind Lead the Brave," *U. S. News and World Report,* 9 December 1950, 37-43, AR 0070, CFSOKW.
[250] Sent to clear a "deserted" village, Herbert Ikeda found a large enemy force whom he persuaded to surrender without firing a single shot by promising them food, tobacco, and candy. Afterward, he took the stars off of a North Korean uniform and sewed them onto his own cap and shirt. His explanation quoted above was to a colonel who asked about the makeshift uniform. Ikeda in Baldovi, *A Foxhole View,* 57-58.

Korea few topics proved off limits for entertainment. "Mortar shrapnel ripped his canteen from its web belt./We all laughed./Had it been his head/We would not have laughed 'til later."[251] Obviously these behaviors could not be explained easily by a son to his mother or a boyfriend to his sweetheart. Consequently, letters from Korea remained quite guarded.[252] Instead of talking about the brutal realities of battle, the loneliness and fear that permeated everyday life on the front, or their somewhat unconventional ways of dealing with the stress, men (and women) conveyed funny stories or dwelt on the mundane, generic topics that would find ready approval among their friends and families.[253] Unfortunately, while censoring and sanitizing their correspondence helped G.I.s salvage their marriages and protect home ties, it also left them with the uneasy feeling that perhaps when they returned home these relationships might yet become casualties of the war and of the real, if unspoken, gulf that separated Korea from the home front.

Depressingly aware that they were paying the costs of the Korean War with divorces, deaths, uncomfortable living conditions, moments of terror, and personal tragedies, many Americans in country came to resent both the United States Government and the American public. As Private First Class James Cardinal put it, "The troops over here are mad, mad at America, Americans and America's leaders. We all feel we've been let down by our incompetent and blundering leadership, from the White House down."[254] Old enough to remember the respect and gratitude accorded to World War II veterans and too young to recollect their country's treatment of veterans of earlier wars, service members in Korea felt entitled to

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[251] Ronald J. Landry, "Appropriateness," in "Chosin House."
[251] Vendiola in Baldovi, *A Foxhole View*, 36.
[252] Matthias, *The Korean War*, 46.
[253] For a discussion of soldiers sanitizing their correspondence for hometown readers during World War II, see Linderman, *World Within War*, 308.
[254] PFC James Cardinal to his parents, 7 January 1950, quoted in Hastings, *The Korean War*, 176. Hastings records the date of this letter as 1950, but given the events described in it, including the entrance of the Chinese into the war and the 8th Army's retreat south, the letter must have actually been written in January 1951.

something more than they were receiving for their troubles. On a basic level, men and women serving in the war zone wanted recognition that Korea was as much of a war as any that the United States had fought in the past, not merely a "police action" as President Truman and the press persisted in calling it. They complained bitterly that "They may call this a police action, but men are loseing [sic] their lives the same as in the last war" and "they should make that comment to the parents or wives whose sons or husbands were killed in action."[255] They also felt that their country owed them the same benefits that it had seen fit to grant to the veterans of World War II. From the hillsides and battlefronts of Korea, servicemen angrily demanded a comparable G.I. Bill. Asserting, "I would like to go to college if I live thru this damn police action," they asked "what is the government doing about us over here?"[256] And, when the answers failed to satisfy them, they persisted. "Why, sir," one man wrote Senator Robert Taft, "are we excluded from the rights, the hostilities were over for 2 years and fellows who enlisted for a peacetime army for 18 months receive the benefits of the Bill of Rights, but those who are now in Korea, even if only for a year are forgotten or seem to be by our government?"[257] Eventually such lobbying paid off and Congress passed a Korean G. I. Bill of Rights, but for many veterans the seeming reluctance and slowness with which this was done served only to reinforce notions that America somehow regarded them differently than its sons and daughters of the Second World War.

[255] Sergeant Edward W. Moffett, Sergeant First Class William H. Bloss, and Sergeant Wade H. Beans to Senator Robert A. Taft, 15 May 1951, Taft Papers, Box 1077, LOC and Spiroff, *Korea*, 24. See also Private First Class Sal Pultro to Mrs. Rogers in *Congressional Record, Appendix*, 82nd Congress, 1st sess., January 1951-October 1951, vol. 97, A3333.
[256] Sergeant D.S. Ray to Senator Robert A. Taft from Korea, the frontlines, 16 May 1951 and R.C. Kash to Taft, 14 May 1951, Taft Papers, Box 1077, LOC.
[257] Corporal Henry Orphal to Senator Robert A. Taft, 14 May 1951, Taft Papers, Box 1077, LOC.

Aside from a lack of political recognition, the troops in Korea had other reasons to feel like the home front had abandoned and forgotten them. Every day Americans laid down their lives in service to country on the Korean Peninsula, but back in the States people seemed completely disinterested in the war. Front page headlines advertised "a growing shortage of beef, graft scandals in the Government, strikes as usual, [and] prospects of a new-car scarcity."[258] The war just did not seem all that newsworthy after the early months and especially once it stalemated. As Bill Mauldin noted of the Korean War infantryman, "He fights a battle in which his best friends get killed and if an account of the action gets printed at all in his home town paper, it appears on page 17 under a Lux ad."[259] And, more than not paying attention to the war, people on the home front actually compromised the ability of men and women to carry out their duties in Korea—at least from the perspective of those in the war zone. Strikes and the attention paid them not only distracted Americans, but deprived men in the field of the supplies they needed. Shortages at home meant the rationing of things like ammunition and equipment in the war zone. Of one strike a frustrated G.I. in theater wrote, "We felt it very definitely in the shortage of supplies and especially of equipment for several days. It woke me up to how closely connected all the fronts we battle on are. You begin to wonder if the old country realizes there's a war going on over here."[260] Similarly, returning from Korea, another serviceman asserted, "Strikes at home make the GI feel … that people are so preoccupied with their own self-interests

[258] "Korea: The Forgotten War," *U. S. News and World Report,* 5 October 1951, 21.
[259] Mauldin, *Bill Mauldin in Korea,* 10.
[260] Extract from a letter from a GI in Korea, U. S. Senate, *Congressional Record,* 82nd Congress, 2nd sess., 8 January 1952-25 February 1952, vol. 98, part 1, 979. The letter went on to say, "I know myself when I was over there [in the States] I didn't think much of the Korean War, except maybe as some sort of police action."

that they seem to have forgotten that we are fighting a war. The shortages due to the shipping strike in New York last autumn could be felt in Korea within two weeks."[261]

Soldiers in country repeatedly complained that their country and countrymen left them to fight the war with secondhand weapons, trucks, jeeps, and artillery.[262] With a Marine platoon somewhere in Korea, Richard Bevier pondered the fact that the warranty on his unit's howitzers had expired as the manufacturer only guaranteed them for three years or 10,000 rounds of ammunition, whichever came first. Wryly he concluded that the guns were still more dependable than the ammunition, much of which was dated 1940. "It had probably been to the Pacific and back a couple of times."[263] More succinctly, James Boden observed, "Guns that would not work, ammo that would not fire."[264] Men fighting in Korea wanted people in the United States to "know and give a damn," but believed that "they don't know and don't care. Because it doesn't touch them."[265] No wonder then, when they talked "about the old home country," their conversations contained both "sadness and even a little bit of bitterness."[266]

If men or women felt unhappy about their situation in Korea, they could complain in letters or to members of the press, but seldom could they express themselves at the ballot box. With catchphrases like "If they are old enough to fight they are old enough to vote," some senators and congressmen during the conflict pushed to lower the minimum voting age from 21

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[261] "Report on Korea and the Far East," remarks of a 7 month Korean War vet, entered into record by Mr. McClellan, U. S. Senate, *Congressional Record* , 82nd Congress, 2nd sess., 28 June 1952-7 July 1952, vol. 98, part 7, 8818.
[262] Edwin Phipp, "Forgotten Men in Korea Fight with Second-Hand Equipment," *Washington Star*, 14 May 1952, quoted in *Congressional Record, Appendix*, 82nd Congress, 2nd sess., January 1952-July 1952, vol. 98, A2973.
[263] Richard C. Bevier, "Nearly Everyone Should Write a Book," account attached by the author to *Korean War Veteran Survey*, 42, CFSOKW.
[264] James F. Boden, Army Service (Korean War) Questionnaire, 20, 2nd Division, 23rd Regiment, Alphabetical Box 1, Department of the Army, Carlisle Barracks.
[265] Fictional character Lieutenant Anderson from Ernest Frankle's *Band of Brothers*, quoted in Kindsvatter, *American Soldiers*, 154.
[266] Extract from a letter from a GI in Korea, U. S. Senate, *Congressional Record*, 82nd Congress, 2nd sess., 8 January 1952-25 February 1952, vol. 98, part 1, 979.

to 18. They did not want men to "feel they are being shanghaied into the Armed Forces without having a voice in their own government."[267] Throughout the war, however, such efforts invariably failed, leaving thousands of young draftees eligible to fight in Korea but ineligible to vote in state or national elections.[268] In the 1950s, color also excluded some of those in Korea from voting. More than a decade before President Lyndon Johnson's Voting Rights Act, many Southern blacks could not participate in the political process regardless of age and some Native Americans did not get the right to vote until the late 1950s.[269] Finally, even if service members met all the requirements for voting in their home states, they might not be able to vote from Korea. Some states banned absentee voting outright. Restrictive voting laws barred as many as a million G.I.s around the world from voting in elections like the presidential race of 1952.[270] Other times, the process got so complicated that it discouraged Americans stationed overseas from attempting to cast absentee ballots. In the 1952 presidential election, for instance, G.I.s had to apply for a federal postcard from a voting officer, fill it out, and mail it to his/her home state. When the ballot came, the G.I. had to go before the voting officer, mark the ballot, seal it in an envelope, sign it, get it notarized, and then take it to the registered mail window at the post

[267] See Edwin Arthur Hall in U. S. House, *Congressional Record*, 82nd Congress, 1st sess., 22 February-26 March 1951, vol. 97, part 2, 2605.
[268] During the Korean War period, a few individual states did allow people younger than 21 to vote. Georgia, for instance, already allowed 18 year olds the privilege. Most young people, though, had to wait until they turned 21. During the Vietnam War, another conflict fought using young conscripts, the minimum voting age in all states finally was lowered from 21 to 18 with the ratification of the 26th Amendment in July 1971.
[269] For an example, see Gilbert Towner, *Korean War Veteran Survey*, 8, CFSOKW. The Indian Citizenship Act of 1924 declared all non-citizen Native Americans citizens (some Native Americans received citizenship earlier either by privately farming their land or because of World War I military service), entitling them to vote. However, since voting depended upon state law until voting rights legislation enacted in the 1950s and 1960s, many Native Americans like many African Americans were effectively barred from voting.
[270] "Light Vote Seen by Absentee G.I.s," *New York Times*, 2 November 1952, Republican National Committee, Additional Files of News Clippings, A-65-12/1, Box 636, DDE Library.

office.[271] Needless to say, many found the procedure too cumbersome and many others could not possibly fulfill the requirements from where they were stationed.

As a result, a few men settled for writing letters to their congressmen or hometown newspapers, but with mixed results. In 1951 letters sent from an engineer detachment in Korea to stateside papers questioning the purpose of the war prompted a discussion in the House of Representatives as to whether or not the men should be investigated by the Army as possible participants in a communist plot. Ultimately, Representative S. J. Crumpacker, Jr. from Indiana defended the soldiers saying, "We cannot expect to draft men and send them to fight and possibly die for us in Korea and then refuse to tell them why we are doing so and what our purpose is in fighting such a war."[272] But, in the deepening Cold War climate and in the middle of an unpopular and stalemated war the situation could have turned out far differently. Congressmen and Americans might as easily have seen communists or collaborators as tired and confused soldiers and these men might have faced courts martial for misconduct or worse as happened to returning POWs after the conflict.

Perhaps G.I.s could not influence the government or public opinion back home, but a few did manage to work the system and find a safe and legal way to leave Korea before their tours of duty ended. In the early 1950s Army policy allowed soldiers, even those stationed in the war zone, to apply to Officer Candidate School. If chosen, an applicant returned to the United States

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[271] "Many G.I.s Stationed Overseas are Denied Vote, Others Find Secrecy of Ballot Threatened," *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, 2 October 1952, Republican National Committee, Additional Files of Newsclippings, A-65-12/1, Box 636, DDE Library. This process differed greatly from 1944 when soldiers and sailors were given a ballot, marked it secretly, and then dropped it into a ballot box on the ship.

[272] Things might have turned out differently in this instance had one of the men involved not been such a sympathetic figure. Corporal Case had been pulled out of high school during World War II and spent three years in service, completing high school via correspondence courses. Discharged to the inactive reserves, he went to Indiana University for a year and then was recalled. See Extension of Remarks, S. J. Crumpacker, Jr., *Congressional Record, Appendix*, 82nd Congress, 1st sess., January 1951-October 1951, vol. 97, A1914.

as soon as OCS could make room for him. Army regulations then barred those men from reassignment overseas until they completed a minimum stateside tour. Sensing the possibilities, infantrymen and artillerymen in Korea applied for OCS, shipped back to the States, and then resigned from their respective programs after only a couple of weeks. They still had to finish their 21 or 24 months with the Army, but most of them had so little time left that they knew they would "sweat out" their release from the service in America and not in the deadly hills of Korea. Eventually the Army did close off this avenue of escape from the war theater. By the spring of 1952, new policies designed to deal with the problem stated that men who voluntarily withdrew from OCS before completion could be returned to the area from which they came without a stateside waiting period. Men in Korea could still ask for OCS, but admission no longer guaranteed them a final exit from the war. Still, dozens of men slipped out of the war zone and back home before the Army put these new rules into effect.[273]

While in Korea, Marines, sailors, airmen, soldiers, doctors, and nurses, like young Americans everywhere, found ways to entertain and distract themselves. Behind the lines, service personnel played chess and checkers, set up volleyball and basketball courts, had barbecues and beer busts, and formed poker clubs.[274] They attended USO events when possible and indulged in drinking alcohol rations or black market booze.[275] Early in the war, the military supplied enlisted troops with two cans of beer a day and officers with a bottle of whiskey a

[273] Paul Hood, "Officer School Discovers GIs Pull Fast One," *Daily Oklahoman,* 24 January 1952, 1 and "OCS No Longer a Ticket Home," *Daily Oklahoman,* 11 March 1952, 4.
[274] Arthur L. Kelly, Interview by Russell Harris, 16 December 1993, 44 and Ballenger, *The Final Crucible*, 47.
[275] The USO had a slow start during the Korean War, but eventually it put on 5400 shows for military personnel in Korea and by the end of the war boasted 113,394 volunteers and 300 USO centers overseas. Peter A. Soderbergh, *Women Marines in the Korean War Era* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 1994), 86.

month, just enough to fend off boredom and help one temporarily forget about the war.[276] Even tea-totalers sometimes became drinkers in Korea, but perhaps nobody in country enjoyed liquor more than airmen. Alcohol flowed freely in the various "O Clubs" and this fact, coupled with the availability of cheap liquor at base exchanges, helped make drinking the "primary recreational activity" of many of those stationed at or around airfields. So common was over-drinking among pilots that they learned to adjust the oxygen levels in their planes to cure hangovers.[277] On the front lines and in the outposts, where drinking was usually prohibited, men made their own home-brew, called "apple jack," secured liquor from foreign troops or the black market, and brought back beer or whiskey when they returned from R & R.[278] Still, combat soldiers had little time for drinking and more commonly used cigarettes to fill their hours and days. Stuffed into combat rations, cigarettes came cheap and easy in the war zone, a ready-made and nearly irresistible de-stressor.[279] Like the soldiers of World War II, many veterans of the Korean War remember first smoking when in the Army or in the war.[280]

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[276] Matthias, *The Korean War,* 149 and Arthur L. Kelly, Interview by Russell Harris, 16 December 1993, 58. Not everyone received regular rations and eventually the rations were stopped altogether. See James H. Toner, "American Society and the American Way of War: Korea and Beyond," *Parameters* 11:1 (1981), 87 and Carl V. Tyozandlak, Army Service (Korean War) Questionnaire, 5 , 1st Cavalry Division, surnames M-Z, Carlisle Barracks.

[277] Sherwood, *Officers in Flight Suits,* 123-129.

[278] Ballenger, *The Final Crucible,* 41; Matthias, *The Korean War,* 151; and Arthur L. Kelly, Interview by Russell Harris, 16 December 1993, 60-61. Richard Bevier describes the "raisin jack" produced by one of the men in his unit. While virtually unfit for human consumption, the brew did successfully remove stains from canteen cups. Bevier, "Nearly Everyone Should Write a Book," 51.

[279] Memoirs attest to the fact that a few men in Korea used drugs, such as codeine or marijuana to help them deal with the stress, but usage seems not to have been widespread in this war as it would be in Vietnam. For mention of drugs, see Douglas G. Anderson and Donald E. Barton, Army Service (Korean War) Questionnaire, 5 (for both sources), 2nd Division, 23rd Regiment, Alphabetical Box 1, Carlisle Barracks.

[280] Kindsvatter, *American Soldiers,* 97-98. It is interesting to note that while a number of veterans' memoirs, letters, diaries, and oral histories discuss the prevalence of smoking and drinking during the war, only a few of them mention drug addiction. In sharp contrast to the Vietnam War, the Korean War saw few problems with drug addiction among American troops. Some accounts, however, do suggest that men did develop addictions to prescription drugs in the war zone or mention Korea as their first experience with drugs. See Peter Santella in Berry, *Hey, Mac, Where Ya Been?,* 225. See also Mark Thompson, "America's Medicated Army," *Time* 171:24 (16 June 2008), 38-42 for a discussion of drug addiction in the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan.

In addition to cigarettes and liquor, some men in the war theater found love or something like it.[281] Especially for gay men, who faced persecution and suspicion back in the States, Korea and Japan provided the opportunity for both openness and fulfillment.[282] Occupied with the business of war and survival and concerned primarily about the competence of their crews, commanders had little time to waste ferreting out the sexual orientations of those under their commands regardless of regulations. Indeed, most homosexuals found commanders more than willing to look the other way so long as they performed well on the job.[283] In the zone, one "could be as open as you wanted to be" and there existed little pressure to act straight.[284] Gay men stationed in Japan frequented gay bars there, but willing partners turned up elsewhere as well. Straight men in Korea, Japan, and aboard ship courted homosexuals when women were in short supply or likely to be infected with venereal diseases and when they needed sex but could not endure the thought of being unfaithful to their wives with another woman.[285] In general, gays found serving overseas a refreshing experience, free of some of the fear and repression they suffered at home. Even so, homosexuals did well to bear in mind that no matter how liberated

[281] Some servicewomen and Red Cross workers probably had romantic liaisons while stationed in country, but these are less well documented than the affairs of male servicemen, perhaps because the strict rules of behavior imposed on women by both the Red Cross and the military. Also, many servicewomen felt that the men they encountered overseas held a low opinion of women in uniform. See Anita Bean, *Korean War Veteran Survey*, 6, CFSOKW. Many American men in country felt that "Round Eyes" (non-Asian women) were off-limits. Sherwood, *Officers in Flight Suits*, 129-131. It should also be noted that aside from R & R, many American soldiers had no time to think about starting a relationship or to mix with the local population. See Matthias, *The Korean War*, 22.

[282] For more on treatment of gays in Cold War America, see David K. Johnson, *The Lavender Scare: The Cold War Persecution of Gays and Lesbians in the Federal Government* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004).

[283] One author argues that gays tended to self-select themselves "to the medic, administrative … and cooks branches of the services," where comrades not only accepted but also admired them. Selika M. Ducksworth, *What Hour of the Night: Black Enlisted Men's Experiences and the Desegregation of the Army During the Korean War, 1950-1951* (Ph.D. diss., Ohio State University, 1997), 152.

[284] Ric Mendoza-Gleason (AFC2001/001/4939), Interview by Katia Bore, 22 January 2003, Transcribed and edited by Lara Ballard, February 2003, Folder 2, 9-10, VHPC, AFC, LOC and Jim Tee in Mary Ann Humphrey, *My Country, My Right to Serve: Experiences of Gay Men and Women in the Military, World War II to the Present* (New York: Harper-Collins Publishers, 1990), 51-54.

[285] Several sources allude to the situational homosexuality which occurred in the war zone. See Gleason (AFC2001/001/4939), Interview by Bore, 10, VHPC, AFC, LOC and Waltner, *Men in Skirts*, 85.

they felt in the war zone, homosexual acts still violated the military's code of conduct and one who engaged in them could be punished accordingly. Just one week before his three year commitment ended, the Navy brought Tony Lankford up on charges of homosexuality. With "no representation, no rights, no nothing," Lankford ended his tour of duty with a dishonorable discharge.[286]

For straight men, local girls in both Korea and Japan could be had as prostitutes or long-term "girlfriends" for a low price and, despite the admonitions of the military, many Americans hired them. Concerned about the spread of venereal disease, at least one air base instituted "pussy patrols" to prevent airmen from having sex with Korean women, but undoubtedly clandestine relationships and the transmission of diseases continued in country. Additionally, men in all branches of the military found action with no less willing and no less diseased Japanese partners when on leave or R & R in Japan.[287] Such liaisons held consequences, both physical and emotional, for those who engaged in them.

Many men did contract sexually transmitted diseases. By January 1952, the VD rate of the 51st Wing soared to 8.12% and in the summer of 1953 a wave of gonorrhea and genital warts in the 45th Infantry Division forced many to undergo treatment before returning home.[288] Infection caused real problems in the field where men had trouble getting penicillin. Richard Bevier remembers a man in his platoon having to treat his "affected area" by soaking it for two hours twice a day in a solution of potassium permangate mixed up in a sawed off beer can.

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[286] Tony Lankford in Humphrey, *My Country, My Right to Serve*, 31.
[287] Kindsvatter, *American Soldiers*, 94; Sherwood, *Officers in Flight Suits*, 116 and 131-33; and William T. Craig, *Lifer! From Infantry to Special Forces* (New York: Ivy Books, 1994), 48-49.
[288] Sherwood, *Officers in Flight Suits*, 133 and Richard H. Waltner, *Men in Skirts: An Army Medic's Account of the Korean War and After* (New York: Author's Choice Press, 2000), 76-77. Waltner asserts that only men with gonorrhea were kept for treatment, that those with genital warts were sent home as these were not yet recognized as a form of venereal disease. Presumably, then, this would be how genital warts made their way to the US, through untreated Korean War veterans.

Seeking privacy, the man sat in one of the tractors, at least until the time when his crew got orders to fire while he was soaking and the unexpected recoil from the gun "not only splattered our friend from head to toe with purple stuff," but "almost circumcised him in the process."[289]

Japanese and Korean women sometimes became pregnant, forcing G.I.s to either abandon their children when they rotated out or to begin the long, wrenching, and often unsuccessful process of trying to get their families to the United States. Inevitably, even without the pressure of fatherhood, more than a few men either mistook their "business deals for real relationships" or actually fell in love with the women they employed, leading them to try and marry their Asian paramours.[290] The US military did not ban such unions, but did discourage them with plenty of red tape.[291] Many Japanese and Korean women did get to take their turn as war brides, but many others found this avenue to happiness a dead end. Given the nature of the war zone and the slowness of the process, soldiers and Marines not infrequently died, rotated back to the States, or simply lost interest before they could obtain approval to marry their girlfriends.[292] Aside from one-time lovers American servicemen left behind thousands of illegitimate sons and daughters, unrecognized by the United States and shunned by the Japanese and Koreans.[293] Love affairs

[289] Bevier, "Nearly Everyone Should Write a Book," 40.
[290] Sherwood, *Officers in Flight Suits*, 142.
[291] The State Department was very slow to sign off on interracial marriages especially, even after applications had made it through all of the military channels. Bussey, *Firefight at Yechon,* 65; Craig, *Lifer!,* 49; and Barnett R. Wilson (AFC 2001/001/2783), Folder 1, *A Korean Cruise: Magic Moments of Life, Love and War* (1981) an unpublished memoir, 153, VHPC, AFC, LOC. Certain states in the US also discouraged these marriages. A Georgia state attorney warned a veteran that to marry a Japanese woman was illegal and Mississippi did not recognize marriages with "Mongolians." Plummer, *Rising Wind,* 209. Also, Thomas Bostlemann, *The Cold War and the Color Line: Race Relations in the Global Arena* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2001), 82.
[292] Bussey, *Firefight at Yechon,* 65 and Craig, *Lifer!,* 49.
[293] It is interesting to note that while US policy in 1952 permitted soldiers to recognize their children by German mothers and allowed German women the right to sue to establish paternity, the government expended little or no effort to aid war orphans in Japan and Korea. GIs and individuals did, however, try to raise funds to assist American offspring there. Plummer, *Rising Wind,* 207-209.

blossomed in the war zone, quelling for a little while the loneliness and sadness of war, but all too often they ended disastrously for everyone involved.

The military treated men and women who remained in Korea long enough to a turn at Rest and Recuperation, or R & R. Early in the war this might be nothing more than a day or two of rest somewhere behind the lines where a frontline soldier or Marine could eat a hot breakfast and lunch, shower, get clean clothes, and maybe see a movie.[294] By the spring of 1951, though, R & R had become a formal program in which men left the war zone for a five day rest in Japan.[295] Men so looked forward to R & R that they were willing to take considerable risks in order to get it. Harold DeVries remembers that when his turn came to go to Japan, his unit was pinned down by the enemy, but rather than lose the opportunity he left by crawling "down a road ditch with artillery hitting all around me."[296] Designed as a way to give men a break from the constant danger and stress of the battlefield, R & R proved a mixed blessing for participants. Men coming from hard fighting certainly needed the time to rest and relax, but not all of them could do this away from their units and buddies. They worried about friends in the war zone and felt guilty every time they "took a hot bath, ate a hot meal, and slept on a nice bed."[297] Many also realized that after months of remaining on guard their bodies simply would not accept the sleep that they craved.[298] Later in the war R & R took on a different flavor. Men still tried to catch up on some much needed rest, but they also spent a good portion of their time drinking and chasing women, thus earning R & R the unenviable nickname "I & I" or "intercourse and

[294] In his book, Terry Addison recalls being taken to the Pea Patch for a bit of rest in 1950. See Addison, *Battle for Pusan,* 134-135.
[295] Fehrenbach, *This Kind of War,* 347-348.
[296] Harold DeVries, , Interview by Kirk Mathis, in Havard, *By Word of Mouth,* 8.
[297] Nick Nishimoto in Baldovi, *A Foxhole View,* 63.
[298] Matthias, *The Korean War,* 131.

intoxication."[299] One female veteran stationed at a hospital on Okinawa during the war recalls, "I felt very disappointed in our guys' actions away from home" and "to this day feel disgust at things I know of and have seen."[300]

Eventually, if one lived within the war long enough, his or her time to return home would come. Doctors, nurses, and sailors ticked off the months and completed their tours of duty. Pilots finished the requisite number of missions. Infantrymen and support personnel in Korea earned enough points to rotate out. In an effort to be equitable, to allow service members who had risked the most or spent the most time in Korea to leave first, the military set up a rotation system for individual soldiers and Marines.[301] For each month spent in theater, American troops received a certain number of points, ranging from four awarded to men stationed on the front lines to two given to men in the rear echelon. Once a person accumulated thirty-six points he became eligible to rotate out of the war zone.[302]

On the one hand, rotation, or the "Big R," boosted the morale of those serving in country. With or without an end to the war, "every man would ship out of Korea for discharge or other duty station" when his year or eighteen months was up.[303] But, rotation created many problems

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[299] Fehrenbach, *This Kind of War,* 348 and Kindsvatter, *American Soldiers,* 94.
[300] Anita Bean, *Korean War Veteran Survey,* 6, CFSOKW.
[301] Many National Guardsmen, particularly retreads, resented the Army's plans for rotating them out of Korea. Under the Army plan, men received no credit for service in World War II, placing them on an even footing with men who had served much less time in the Guard. Wayne Mackey, "National Guard Discharge Plan Irks 45th Men," *Daily Oklahoman,* 13 August 1951, 8.
[302] *Ibid.,* 347. Being eligible to rotate out did not necessarily mean that one would be able to rotate out, however. Some men had to wait until a replacement came to fill their spot. Beverly Scott, for instance, had some 52 points before he finally got to leave Korea. Scott in Tomedi, *No Bugles, No Drums,* 182. Also, the Army could raise the number of points needed for rotation. Rudy Stephens had to have 40 points to get out. Stephens, *Old Ugly Hill,* 168. See also Charles W. Dryden, *A-Train: Memoirs of a Tuskegee Airman.*(Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1997), 293 and Daniel Hallock, *Hell Healing and Resistance: Veterans Speak* (Farmington, PA: The Plough Publishing House, 1998), 98.
[303] Ballenger, *The Final Crucible,* 34; Kindsvatter, *American Soldiers,* 86; and Arthur L. Kelly, Interview by Bird Whistell, 16 April 1985, 9 (Kentuckiana Digital Library at http://kdl.kyvl.org).

for American service members in theater as well.[304] With the military "mobilizing, demobilizing, and fighting a war, all at the same time," troop commanders reflected that "we were creating real units until rotation."[305] For those trying to survive combat, it became increasingly clear that the loss of seasoned infantrymen and artillerymen and resulting influx of inexperienced replacements broke down unit effectiveness and integrity.[306] Some career officers careened into the war zone just long enough to get their tickets punched, to put combat on their records, and then moved on to something more lucrative and perhaps less dangerous, leaving units in Korea without adequate or consistent leadership.[307] Veterans in the ranks only reluctantly and slowly accepted replacements, adopting a "wait and see" attitude until new men proved their worth. Non-commissioned officers sweat bullets before engagements, knowing half of their troops were green, fresh from basic training.[308] Replacements had to make buddies and learn the ropes fast or risk finding themselves even more alone in the unfamiliar and unforgiving terrain of the war. Unfortunately, too many of these replacements became casualties within hours or days of their arrival. Gary Hashimoto relates how one young replacement arrived at dusk, dug in, and then was found stabbed to death the next morning.[309]

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[304] For discussions about the negative effects of rotation on unit cohesiveness and effectiveness, see Edwards, *To Acknowledge a War*, 109-110 and Roger Little, "Buddy Relations and Combat Performance," in Morris Janowitz, ed., *The New Military: Changing Patterns of Organization* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1964), 195-223.
[305] W. D. McGlasson, "Manpower for the Korean War," *VFW* (June/July 1990), 25.
[306] Sullivan, *Toy Soldiers*, 20 and Hanson W. Baldwin, "Handicaps in Korea War," *New York Times*, 24 February 1953, 4. Others sources also mention the isolation of soldiers as they were detached from training units and sent to units already fighting in Korea where they had no personal contacts and the early promotion of young and inexperienced soldiers in Korea in an effort to fill the ranks there. See Morris Janowitz and Roger W. Little, *Sociology and the Military Establishment, 3d ed.* (Beverly Hills, CA: Sage Publications, 1974), 99 and Van Zandt, Interview by Liston and Kraenzlin, 11 March 1996, 35.
[307] Sullivan, *Toy Soldiers*, 20. Desperate for officers and NCOs in Korea, the Army reduced the amount of time required in grade before one could be promoted. Berry, Oral History by Caudill, 35. Also, battlefield promotions were offered to entice men into staying in Korea beyond their rotation dates.
[308] Kindsvatter, *American Soldiers*, 73-74 and Baldovi and Clayton Murakami in Baldovi, *A Foxhole View*, 198 and 223-224.
[309] Hashimoto in Baldovi, *A Foxhole View*, 151.

Men with little time left before rotation developed "short-timers syndrome." Worried about dying only weeks or days before their tours of duty ended, short-timers became increasingly reluctant to volunteer for dangerous duty, fight, or even stray far from their foxholes. Some took to wearing their flak jackets and helmets round the clock and at least a few determined to "never, ever leave his bunker again" until time to go home.[310] Generally soldiers tried to help short-timers out, but this meant the early loss of seasoned and competent soldiers from the field.[311] Rotation did not provide a real end to the conflict and it hindered the war effort in almost as many ways as it helped, but for those lucky enough to sail back to the States before July 1953 it provided a most welcome exit from living within war.

Leaving the War

Begun June 25, 1950, the Korean War lasted until the ceasefire went into effect at 2200 hours on July 27, 1953. Until that appointed time the shooting continued. Then, men on both sides of the line celebrated, setting off live ammunition and waving at each other across the hills, "happy the war was over and we would be going home." But, except for prisoners of war (some 900 of whom the Chinese would be unable to account for at the prisoner exchange), 8100 Americans missing in action, 24 or so Navy and Air Force pilots detained by China as political prisoners, and those Americans still on duty in theater at the time of the armistice, the conflict had ended days, months, or even years earlier.[312] In Korea, the American Armed Forces waged a

[310] Kindsvatter, *American Soldiers,* 91; Elgen Fujimoto and Alan Takamiyahiro in Baldovi, *A Foxhole View,* 63 and 229; and Arthur L. Kelly, Interview by Russell Harris, 16 December 1993, 52.
[311] Matthias, *The Korean War,* 164.
[312] Iwao Yokooji in Baldovi, *A Foxhole View,* 279; "POWs Left in Korea Troubled Eisenhower Administration," *Kansas City Star,* 18 September 1996, A4; "Korean Casualties," *U. S. News and World Report* 37 (12 November

new kind of limited war, one designed to prevent a direct confrontation between the Soviet Union and the United States, preserve manpower resources in case of a wider conflict, and avoid overly taxing the patience of the American public. Not a total war, Americans rotated out of the war zone individually after completing a certain length of service there rather than staying with their units and coming back as a group after hostilities ceased.

Strangely enough, the United States during the Korean War shipped not only survivors back home, but also the remains of G.I.s who had given their lives in duty to country.[313] In both World Wars I and II, Americans killed in action were buried in temporary gravesites until after the fighting stopped, sometimes long after, when the wishes of the next of kin determined whether the bodies would be interred in permanent overseas cemeteries or returned to the States.[314] At first, Korean War dead were treated the same way. Around the Pusan Perimeter, members of Graves Registration companies, part of the Quartermaster Corps, collected bodies, identified them by comparing teeth to dental charts, cleaned out pockets, re-pinned any live grenades they happened across, shipped personal effects (except for pornographic pictures which by orders were to be thrown away) to family members back home, and arranged for a proper burial complete with a memorial service if time allowed.[315] As early as mid-July 1950 a

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1954), 4; and Barbara Slavin, "Teams Start to Search for U. S. Remains at Chosin," *U.S.A. Today*, 10 September 2001, 11A. The bodies of Americans continue to find their way home. In 2008, China finally admitted to burying one American POW in China though for decades the Chinese insisted that "all POW questions were answered at the conclusion of the war in 1953 and that no Americans were moved to Chinese territory from North Korea." Robert Burns, "China Admits Taking POW," *Fayetteville Observer*, 20 June 2008, 7A.

[313] G. Kurt Piehler, *Remembering War the American Way* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1995), 155.

[314] CPTs Arnd Frie, Jamie Kiessling, Gerard L. McCool, Thomas Moody, Benett Sunds, Robert Uppena, and Garth Yarnell, "Fallen Comrades: Mortuary Affairs in the US Army," *Quartermaster Professional Bulletin* (Winter 1998), online at www.qmfound.com/fallen.htm and LTC John C. Cook, "Graves Registration in the Korean Conflict," *The Quartermaster Review* (March–April 1953), 1, online at www.qmmuseum.lee.army.mil/korea/gr_korea.htm.

[315] See Bill Chambers in Tomedi, *No Bugles, No Drums*, 46-49.

temporary cemetery existed at Taejon and soon others sprung up at places like Kwan-ui, Sindong, Kum-chon, Miryang, Masan, and Taegu.[316]

As the war progressed, however, American troops retreated, losing control of many of these cemeteries. Perhaps uncertain that any territory in Korea could be permanently held by United Nations forces, Major General K. L. Hastings, the Quartermaster of the Far East Command, recommended the evacuation of all remains from temporary gravesites.[317] Acting on this, the United States made the unprecedented decision to return deceased Americans to their homeland while still engaged in combat in Korea. Graves Registration companies in country now had the double task of disinterring previously buried bodies for shipment and preparing casualties fresh from the battlefield for the trip home. Most American dead passed through the Zone Headquarters of the American Graves Registration Unit at Camp Kokura, Japan for final identification. There, staff members collected fingerprints and recorded information about "hair color, skin pigmentation, height, shoe size,…tattoos, scars, physical abnormalities,…bone malformations and peculiar tooth and cranial formations" and prepared reports and case histories to establish "beyond all doubt the identity of each individual."[318] Remains then passed through the mortuary to be embalmed, placed in caskets, and finally processed out. At the mausoleum area, chaplains held weekly memorial services in which a symbolic flag-draped casket escorted by an Honor Guard was placed by the flagpole and treated to religious rites, the firing of three volleys, the sounding of Taps, and the lowering of colors. From March 22, 1951 to September 1953, most American war dead—except for a few unidentified soldiers buried as token representatives of the United States at the permanent United Nations cemetery and bodies

[316] Cook, "Graves Registration in the Korean Conflict," 2.
[317] *Ibid.*, 4 and Colonel John D. Martz, Jr., "Homeward Bound," *Quartermaster Review* (May-June 1954), 1-2, online at www.qmfound.com/homeward_bound_korea.htm.
[318] Martz, "Homeward Bound," 2-3.

unrecovered in both North and South Korea—were loaded onto ships to begin their final journey back to the country for which they had given their lives.[319] This at least gave some small measure of comfort and solace to men like the young sergeant who wrote home in July 1950, "I have one request. If I don't survive, please don't leave me to rot in Korea. When the Army permits, let me come home to rest."[320]

Receiving permission to rotate out, survivors left the war zone with far less ceremony than their fallen comrades. If they served in a unit short of men, the Army or Marines might offer them promotions in exchange for a few extra months of Korean duty, but other than that they simply said their farewells and left with little more than their well-worn fatigues and combat boots.[321] Most men and women, after initial processing at battalion, regimental, or divisional headquarters and perhaps a delousing, once again passed through Japan to await the troopship which would ferry them home.[322] Some went wild, buying clothing or trinkets with the money saved up from unspent paychecks, reveling in dozens of pairs of clean, white underwear and tailor-fitted dress uniforms.[323] Others thought about America, "where people are free to vote and just plain old free. Where the sound of guns and the sight of blood are in the past, where you get hot dogs, hamburgers, banana splits, and hot rods, where American women don't bend over and kiss your ass…and damn a thousand other things that I left behind."[324] They looked forward to "getting home to the wife I had married two days before shipping out to Korea" or to the children

[319] *Ibid.*,3-4. After the war, Operation Glory strove to recover the remains of Americans killed in Korea. "'Operation GLORY,' condensed from Graves Registration Division, Korean Communications Zone (KCOMZ), Historical Summary, Jul-Dec 1954," at www.qmmuseum.lee.army.mil/korea/op_glory.htm. See also "Search and Recovery," *Quartermaster Review*(July-August 1954), online at www.qmfound.com/search_and_recovery_korea.htm. Efforts continue today.
[320] Robert Jamieson, Letter home, 29 July 1950, in Baldovi, *A Foxhole View*, 29.
[321] Irwin Crockett in Baldovi, *A Foxhole View*, 151.
[322] Spiroff, *Korea*, 69 and Clarence Jackson "Jack" Davis, postscript to letter dated February 1952, 177, (AFC2001/001/1644), Folder 1, VHPC, AFC, LOC.
[323] Edmund Krekovian in Knox, and Coppel, *The Korean War: Uncertain Victory*, 351.
[324] David Brouchoud to Dad, 16 November 1952, Box A, folder A0005, CFSOKW.

growing up in their absence.[325] Men who had served on the line wondered "whether I was more homesick for Decatur or for Love Company" and "couldn't stop thinking about my buddies. I loved them so."[326] Feeling a great loss they asked, "Sure, I was out of it, but what about all my friends who were still fighting?" Still, those exiting the war theater "knew how a man on death row must feel when he gets a reprieve."[327] They were safe at last and "happier than hell."[328] Eventually it came their turn to board the homebound ships, yelling "You'll be sorreee!" to new replacements entering the zone.[329] After just a few more weeks of military food, fire or guard duty, gambling, and waiting, they would be home, "back to the greatest country on the earth."[330]

Although crowded together aboard transport vessels or planes, men and women, leaving the Korean theater left the war alone.[331] Instead of unit members shipping in and out together, most individuals moved into outfits where needed and left at different times as their tours of duty expired or as they accumulated enough points to earn a final rotation back to the States. Instead of benefitting emotionally from making the long trip home with men made close through the shared experience of combat or service, Korean War veterans had only the hard goodbyes "with guys you've shared so much with" and then close quarters with unfamiliar faces, "all strangers, /

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[325] Frank Almy in Knox and Coppel, *Korea: Uncertain Victory,* 354.
[326] W. B. Woodruff, Jr. and Floyd Baxter in Knox and Coppel, *The Korean War: Uncertain Victory,*223 and 357-358.
[327] Frank Almy in Knox and Coppel, *Korea: Uncertain Victory,"*353.
[328] Pete Dragt (AFC 2001/001/14436), Interview by Joy Dragt, 24 November 2001, 3, Folder 2, VHPC, AFC, LOC.
[329] Brady, *The Coldest War,* 236.
[330] Stephens, *Old Ugly Hill,* 171. See also Bernstein, *Monsters and Angels,* 328; Leonard Korgie in Knox and Coppel, *Korea: Uncertain Victory,* 353; and Stephens, *Old Ugly Hill,* 168-171.
[331] Reserve units early in the war were an exception to this as men did by and large come and go together. As original members filtered out, however, Reserve outfits filled with replacements and the same breaks in cohesion from rotation occurred. While going with men you knew had certain advantages, there were real drawbacks to putting men from the same locale in the same units. Ross Dwyer remembers a reserve company from Arizona that ended up at Seoul and Chosin Reservoir. "This meant we'd zapped a whole community in Arizona. We were now trying not to have all the men in a reserve unit go to Korea in the same outfit." Dwyer in Berry, *Hey, Mac,* Where Ya Been?, 249. Although some men in World War II left with their units, many rotated home with strangers like Korean veterans as timing of departure depended upon a point system.

like me, on their way home."[332] En route, men talked about the war, "the only subject we could discuss intelligently," and thought about the Americans still fighting.[333] "Remembering was one way of keeping people alive, and the least I could do."[334] They also tried to prepare themselves for the transition from war to the safer, slower life they would soon enjoy. Reminiscing with others who had experienced the same things or "endured situations which made my own seem like a picnic," some men found that "by the time we reached the United States after three weeks at sea, most of us had been drained of any meaningful hang-ups."[335] "Thirty-three days from Inchon to San Francisco. The transformation is / complete. By the time we re-enter / society, society has re-entered us."[336] Some, though, had more difficulty putting the war behind them as they passed from one life to another. This time around they traveled "with baggage I can't just check through."[337] They "had adjusted to being in the war zone and could not figure out how they were going to react when they got out of the…combat zone and back into civilian life."[338]

To those leaving, rotation meant "it wasn't my war anymore; it belonged to other men," but it also "wasn't a real end to the war."[339] And because the calendar rather than victory brought them home, veterans of the Korean War had no meaningful way to measure what they had accomplished during their time in country. The losses, of course, seemed evident. The tug-of-war over real estate left the Korean countryside broken and cities devastated. A 1951 *Time Magazine* article declared, "Peace if it comes will find Korea's cities dead. In Seoul the gutted,

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[332] Hallock, *Hell Healing and Resistance*, 99; Spiroff, *Korea*, 71; and Ronald J. Landry, "Return" and "Rotation" in "In Chosen House.
[333] Edmund Krekovian in Knox and Coppel, *Korea: Uncertain Victory*, 352.
[334] Brady, *The Coldest War*, 239.
[335] Edmund Krekovian in Knox and Coppel, *Korea: Uncertain Victory*, 352.
[336] Ronald J. Landry, "Walls," in "In Chosen House."
[337] Ronald J. Landry, "Rotation," in "In Chosen House."
[338] Samuel R. Woodham (AFC2001/001/1595),, Interview by Brian T. Woodham, Jr., 23 March 2002, 8, Folder 3, VHPC, AFC, LOC.
[339] Brady, *The Coldest War*, 239 and Samuel R. Woodham (AFC2001/001/1595),, Interview by Brian T. Woodham, Jr., 23 March 2002, 20, Folder 3, VHPC, AFC, LOC.

white-domed capitol of the Republic of Korea stands like a skeleton among the city's ruins. Suwon's huge, half-destroyed gate, once a monument to Korea's kings, guards only rubble now."[340] By the end of the conflict, virtually every village and city on the peninsula had been damaged, which in human terms translated into many millions of Koreans killed or rendered homeless.[341] The United States pumped billions of dollars into the effort, but casualties skyrocketed, numbering almost 34,000 dead by the end of the war.[342]

And what had they won? Even when peace finally came, "no land had been occupied, no grand goals had been reached, no clear victory had established a winner, no surrender received to mark the end of the war."[343] American troops held the same line they might have had in the fall of 1950. An October 1953 Gallup Poll revealed what the American public thought about this achievement; they would not support renewed hostilities even to hold the territory already purchased at so dear a price.[344] As they rotated out, men "didn't feel like you accomplished a hell of a lot" and they "carried around a feeling that somehow we hadn't given it [Korea] the same effort [as in World War II]."[345] "I remember coming back from Korea…I was almost embarrassed being in Korea because we didn't win. We cut a deal. We got a draw. We failed

[340] "The Allies," *Time Magazine* (16 July 1951), 22.
[341] *Ibid.* and Michael Lind, *Vietnam: The Necessary War: A Reinterpretation of America's Most Disastrous Military Conflict* (New York: The Free Press, 1999), 254-255.
[342] The number of men killed in the first 15 months of the Korean War surpassed the number of men killed in the same time frame in World War II. "Korea: The Forgotten War," *U. S. News and World Report* 31 (5 October 1951), 21. The three years of war in Korea cost some $67 billion and since 1953 the cost to maintain a U.S. presence at the 38th Parallel has cost $2.4 billion a year. Soderbergh, *Women Marines in the Korean War Era,* xxi.
[343] Edwards, *To Acknowledge a War,* 5.
[344] In October 1953, 53% of Americans said they would not support reentering the fighting in Korea should South Korea start the war up again and 56% said that the U.S. should definitely not send soldiers back. George H. Gallup, *The Gallup Poll: Public Opinion 1953-1971, Volume 2: 1949-1958* (New York: Random House, 1972), 1183.
[345] Van Zandt, Interview by Liston and Kraenzlin, 11 March 1996, 33 and Charles F. Cole, *Korea Remembered: Enough of a War: The USS Ozbourn's First Korean Tour, 1950-1951* (Las Cruces, NM: Yucca Tree Press, 1995), 271.

where our older brothers had won."[346] They contemplated that, "We should have used our arms the way they were intended to be used…Because you hold and cradle guys in your arms that die right there talking about their wives and wishing they could see their kids again."[347]

In light of the Vietnam War, the end of the Cold War, and the rise of North Korea as a potential nuclear threat, most veterans of the war in Korea now, fifty years later, recognize that their victory lay in preventing North Korea and China from imposing communism on the Republic of South Korea, as well as possibly deterring communist efforts elsewhere.[348] They agree that, "One forgotten war may eventually turn out to have been the decisive conflict that started the collapse of communism."[349] But, at the time, men and women often felt that success had to be gauged in smaller, more personal terms. "I'd made mistakes. But I'd done things that had merit…I hadn't lost any men through stupidity or from fear. If you summed it up, that was the real achievement, what you had to keep with you. I was going home whole, that was something pretty important too."[350] In surviving, they had learned lessons like "it's okay to cry… [and] there are no winners in war and…we must learn to live in harmony with this world."[351] And, dropped into the war zone and left to experience fear, compassion, and the sting of death, the men and women serving in the Korean Theater grew up. Leaving "youth and immaturity behind," they "returned, still young but no longer innocent."[352]

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[346] Mike Royko quoted in Soderbergh, *Women Marines in the Korean War Era,* xxii.
[347] Walter A. Klein (AFC2001/001/220), Interview by Jamie Malone, 15 November 2001, 1, Folder 2, VHPC, AFC, LOC.
[348] See Hinshaw, *Heartbreak Ridge,* 1.
[349] John Toland quoted in Soderbergh, *Women Marines in the Korean War,* 132.
[350] Brady, *The Coldest War,* 239.
[351] Louis J. Lyons in Granfield, *I Remember Korea,* 67.
[352] James Hamiltion Dill, *Sixteen Days at Mungol-li* (Fayetteville, AR: M & M Press, 1993), 401 and Dannenmaier, *We Were Innocents,* 11. See also Howard Davenport in Ballenger, *The Final Crucible,* 267.

CHAPTER 5: OUR FIGHT? WOMEN, RACE, AND THE WAR ZONE

"They came in unshaven, dirty, looking about forty years old. And most of them are still in their teens."—Commander Haire serving on a hospital ship in theater.[1]

"When I first went to Korea, each soldier that came in the operating room seemed like my brother. It took a little while to get over that. We did a little crying, then got back to work."—Julia Baxter, Army veteran.[2]

"We could not let ourselves down…We couldn't let our race down. We couldn't afford to fail."—James Monte, African American veteran.[3]

"Would they trust us if they were in our place?"—Curtis Morrow, African American veteran.[4]

"I hate white people. Now if all white people were like the boys in this company, it wouldn't take long before everybody would get along swell."—African American soldier.[5]

"Black man shot Chinese who was about to shoot me in back. Need I say more?"—white veteran.[6]

When North Korean troops fired the opening shots of the Korean War, an American servicewoman, not a Marine or soldier, first answered the country's call to duty. Stationed in Korea at the time, Army nurse Viola McConnell suddenly found herself in charge of evacuating not only the wives and children of Americans assigned to KMAG, but also foreigners desperately trying to get out of the country. Fearful of the "international incident" which might occur were the communists to shoot down a plane full of refugees, Ambassador John J. Muccio, who opposed any evacuation on the grounds that if the North Koreans captured Seoul they would certainly grant Americans diplomatic immunity, refused to allow air transportation. Instead,

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[1] From Commander Haire's Journal, 2 November 1950 in Frances Omori, *Quiet Heroes: Navy Nurses of the Korean War, 1950-1953, Far East Command* (St. Paul, MN: Smith House Press, 2000), 89.
[2] Julia Baxter in Rudi Williams, "Retired Army Nurse Recalls Korean War Service," 30 March 2001 (online at http://www.defenselink.mil/news/mar2001/).
[3] James Monte in S. Thorne Harper, "All-Black Ranger Unit Recalls Fighting for America During Segregation Two Fronts," *Columbus (GA) Ledger-Enquirer*, 28 July 2002, A1.
[4] Curtis James Morrow, *What's a Commie Ever Done to Black People? A Korean War Memoir of Fighting in the U.S. Army's Last All Negro Unit* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland and Company, 1977), 34.
[5] Leo Bogart, ed., *Project Clear: Social Research and the Desegregation of the United States Army* (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 1992), 97-99.
[6] Gilbert Charles Pfleger, Army Service (Korean War) Questionnaire), 5, 5th Regimental Combat Team, Department of the Army, Carlisle Barracks.

McConnell shepherded some 643 people, including babies, pregnant women, alcoholics suffering withdrawal, and at least one senile woman to a Norwegian fertilizer ship built to hold twelve passengers. Aided by an Army wife and several missionary nurses and one female missionary doctor, McConnell saw to it that the nearly 300 infants on board received rations of formula, that sick people got tended to, and that passengers made it safely to Japan in two days only a little worse for the wear. [7]

Not long after McConnell's ordeal ended, General Douglas MacArthur called upon Major Mildred I. Clark, director of nurses for the Far East Command in Tokyo, to put together two Mobile Army Surgical Hospitals (MASH) for Korea. Though nearing completion of her tour of duty, Clark readied volunteers for this new assignment. Part of an advance party, Major Genevieve Smith became one of the first American Army casualties of the war when the aircraft transporting her party to Korea exploded.[8]

Clearly, from the onset of hostilities in Korea the United States military had a place for women in this new war just as they had in the last one. But, not until after June 1950 would it become clear where that place would be. A limited war in a small, distant, and seemingly insignificant country, the Korean War not only failed to capture the imaginations of Americans, but also did not require the same wholehearted effort which had characterized World War II. In the early months of the conflict the Armed Forces needed women to fill positions stateside to free men for combat. Later, as manpower levels increased, there simply appeared little reason to send most servicewomen into harm's way. Thus far fewer female military personnel would end up serving overseas in the Korean War than in the Second World War. Still, nurses and other

[7] Narratives of these events can be found in Mary T. Sarnecky, *A History of the U.S. Army Nurse Corps* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999), 301-303 and T. R. Fehrenbach, *This Kind of War* (Washington, D.C.: Brassey's, 1963), 40-41.
[8] Sarnecky, *A History of the U.S. Army Nurse Corps,* 303.

personnel did complete tours of duty in the war theater, many of them quite close to the action. Serving in MASH units near the front lines, on hospital ships, and on evacuation planes carrying out wounded infantrymen, most servicewomen realized their value to the effort and few doubted that Korea was their fight as much as it was any American's fight. But, would they experience this war the same as the men in the foxholes? And would their participation in this war somehow change them or transform their lives?

Allowed into the military in greater numbers than ever before, African Americans had these same questions. Being black, they had others as well. Not every African American soldier or Marine called the South home, but all had at least heard about segregation and its injustices. Also, even up north one still encountered pockets of old Jim Crowism. How could a country allow such a discriminatory system to remain intact and yet think nothing of asking the very victims of that system to lay down their lives on the field of battle in the name of liberty? Why should African Americans risk their lives in Korea when home promised nothing more than second-class citizenship? Yet, most African American servicemen, regardless of whether or not they came to believe that their real fight remained the struggle at home for equality, did not abandon their duty stations in Korea. Historians, then, are left to ask the questions. Did service in the war theater alter the views of African Americans serving there on race, country, or comradeship? In the end, was Korea also the black soldier's fight?

Women in the War

Despite the efforts of General Mark Clark and others to pressure the various Armed Forces into sending more women, especially nurses, to the war zone, relatively few women

served in Korea or even in the Far East during the Korean War.[9] Back in the States, the military still suffered from the shortage of nurses that began with the end of World War II and female recruitment remained a particularly challenging task.[10] Many of the fathers, brothers, and boyfriends who had served in the last war most assuredly did not want their daughters, sisters, and girlfriends to don uniforms and serve in this one. And, many women just wanted to begin their lives as wives or mothers without the bother of a service commitment. Moreover, all branches of the military primarily used women to replace men in either the United States or Europe so that male service members could be sent to Korea as soldiers, corpsmen, sailors, or support personnel.[11] Units on the line, especially in the early months of the war, needed men to replace casualties more than they needed nurses to help save them. After all, without someone to man the guns and fight, the entire war effort would simply collapse. Thus servicewomen available for duty in the Far East tended to be in short supply and putting women there remained a low priority for all the services. In the end, though, hundreds of servicewomen did complete tours of duty in Korea and thousands more supported the troops in theater.[12]

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[9] Betty J. Morden, *The Women's Army Corps, 1945-1978* (Washington, D.C.: Center of Military History, United States Army, 2000), 108. A few sources claim that "Korean field commanders requested women soldiers, but were refused by the Pentagon." See Joni Wilson, "Unknown Women of a Forgotten War," unpublished paper, Box A, Folder A0938, CFSOKW and June A. Willentz, *Women Veterans: America's Forgotten Heroines* (New York: Continuum, 1983), 33.

[10] Mary T. Sarnecky, "The Army Nurse Corps in the Korean War," online at the United States of America Korean War Commemoration site (http://korea50.army.mil/history/factsheets/armynurses.shtml). For more detail on the nursing shortage, see Sarnecky, *A History of the U.S. Army Nurse Corps*, 281-282.

[11] Public Relations Coordinator, Defense Advisory Committee on Women in the Services, Office of the Assistant Secretary of Defense (M&P), "Policy Guide for Women in the Armed Services Information Program, 1953, U. S. Army, U. S. Navy, U. S. Air Force, U. S. Marine Corps," 9 February 1953, 3, Staff Files, Files of the Special Assistant Relating to the Office of Coordinator of Government Public Service Advertising (James M. Lambie, Jr.), Box 9, DDE Library. Office of the Assistant Secretary of Defense, Memorandum for the Advertising Council, "Information About Women in the Armed Services," 6 December 1952, 5, Staff Files, Files of the Special Assistant Relating to the Office of Coordinator of Government Public Service Advertising (James M. Lambie, Jr.), Women in the Services—Correspondence 1952-1953, Box 9, folder "Women in the Service (Policy Material), DDE Library. Jeanne Holm, *Women in the Military: An Unfinished Revolution* (Novato, CA: Presidio, 1982), 150.

[12] Getting an accurate number of how many women total served in the Korean War Theater is difficult. Most sources estimate the number of women in Korea at 600-1500 and conclude vaguely that thousands more served in

In early July 1950, Army nurse volunteers sent to Pusan to help set up a hospital became the first American servicewomen to enter the Korean War. In less than a month, almost fifty more nurses joined them, bringing the total number of American military women in Korea to nearly a hundred.[13] By the spring of 1951, more than 300 Army nurses were scattered across the peninsula "at field, station, evacuation, and MASH hospitals."[14] Army nurses traveled with the troops, waited for them behind the lines, and went to pick up casualties aboard hospital trains.[15] Not to be outdone, Air Force and Navy nurses also contributed their share to the war effort, becoming flight nurses with air evacuation units and staffing hospital ships.[16] Countless other servicewomen in all branches of the military lived and worked at hospitals and installations in Japan, Okinawa, Iwo Jima, and the Philippines in direct support of the Americans fighting in Korea.[17] In addition to nursing, women staffed commands throughout Japan, including the Far East Command Headquarters, and performed administrative, communications, intelligence and other duties.[18]

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places like Japan or the Philippines. See Sarnecky, "The Army Nurse Corps in the Korean War;" Judith Bellafaire, "Volunteering for Risk: Black Military Women Overseas During the Wars in Korean and Vietnam," 2, (online at www.womensmemorial.org); and Omori, *Quiet Heroes*, 67. Betty Morden calculates the number of WACs only in theater at 626 in 1950, 2604 in 1951, 1711 in 1952, and 1764 in 1953. Morden, *The Women's Army Corps*, 107.

[13] Holm, *Women in the Military*, 149 and Sarnecky, "The Army Nurse Corps in the Korean War," 149. It should be mentioned that at the time of the North Korean invasion, an Army nurse stationed with KMAG (the U. S. Military Advisory Group to the Republic of Korea), Viola B. McConnell, actually entered the war by organizing and supervising the evacuation of 643 refugees. See Sarnecky, A History of *the U.S. Army Nurse Corps*, 302.

[14] Morden, *The Women's Army Corps*, 108.

[15] Edith A. Aynes, "Hospital Trains in Korea," *American Journal of Nursing* 52:2 (February 1952), 166.

[16] See Janice Albert, "Air Evacuation From Korea: A Typical Flight," *The Military Surgeon* 112:4 (April 1953), 256-259; Omori, *Quiet Heroe*, xix; and Jean Ebbert and Marie-Beth Hall, *Crossed Currents: Navy Women from World War I to Tail Hook* (Washington, D.C.: Brassey's, 1993), 128.

[17] Holm, *Women in the Military*, 150; Bellafaire, "Volunteering for Risk," 2; and Omori, *Quiet Heroes*, xix.

[18] Morden, *The Women's Army Corps*, 107.

Because of the fluid nature of the war and the desperate need for medical personnel, most women who served in theater did so as nurses.[19] Just as at any hospital back home, they got patients cleaned up and settled in and made them as comfortable as possible wherever they happened to be.[20] Nurses also kept up with supplies and ordered replacements when necessary.[21] But, particularly in the war zone where the number of casualties quickly became overwhelming, nurses took on greatly increased responsibilities. They learned to triage patients independently, begin blood transfusions, suture wounds, and initiate courses of antibiotics, and they frequently performed these tasks and more without the direct supervision of a doctor. At MASH units, nurses worked with male corpsmen, teaching them the procedures necessary in combat medicine.[22] As doctors could seldom be spared for a long trip, nurses generally ran the show as the highest ranking officers aboard hospital trains and they did everything from disinfecting the cars with DDT to managing medical aid men and treating patients.[23] Even in Japan WACs could count on being assigned as ward masters, a position traditionally given to male NCOs.[24] A member of the U. S. Navy, Captain Katherine Keating became the first woman officer to relieve a man at sea when ordered to the *U.S.S. Haven* as a pharmacist.[25] In contrast to stateside service, which offered comfort and predictability but also little room for advancement as women were

[19] Some women served in other capacities outside Korea, but because of safety issues no branch of the military assigned women other than nurses to the war zone itself. Holm, *Women in the Military,* 150. Also, Morden *The Women's Army Corps,* 107.
[20] Omori, *Quiet Heroes,* 1 and Eleanor Harrington, "Aboard a Hospital Ship," *American Journal of Nursing* 53:5 (May 1953), 585.
[21] Sarnecky, *A History of the U.S. Army Nurse Corps,* 306 and Albert, "Air Evacuation From Korea—A Typical Flight," 257.
[22] "With the Army Nurse Corps in Korea," *American Journal of Nursing* 51:6 (June 1951), 387.
[23] Originally hospital trains carried a doctor, a nurse, and a medical aid man, but shortages as the war continued resulted in nurses and aid men functioning alone on the long rides. Aynes, "Hospital Trains in Korea," 166. Also, Sarnecky, "The Army Nurse Corps in the Korean War."
[24] Morden, *The Women's Army Corps,* 107.
[25] Ebbert and Hall, *Crossed Currents,* 132. Keating was, incidentally, an African American. William E. Alt and Betty L. Alt, *Black Soldier, White Wars: Black Warriors from Antiquity to the Present* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2002), 105.

herded into "pink collar" jobs, duty in the war theater tendered military women many more opportunities to learn new skills and to act in supervisory roles.[26]

Though never stationed right on the front lines like combat troops or corpsmen and medics, servicewomen in the Far East during the Korean War served under difficult and stressful conditions.[27] In Korea, nurses with field and MASH hospitals followed behind the troops, living and working in "tents, barns, schoolhouses, rice mills, churches," and whatever other structures seemed practical under the circumstances. So close to the lines, they sometimes suddenly found themselves in the thick of the action. Nurses on their way to Pusan in October 1950 had to take cover in ditches for fourteen hours while an engagement unfolded around them. Later that year, servicewomen in North Korea had to be evacuated to ASCOM City when Chinese volunteers overran American positions.[28] In country, women suffered many of the same deprivations as men. They traveled in "flea-ridden conveyances," went to the bathroom in slit trench latrines, showered outdoors, washed their clothes in tin pans and hung them to dry in the corners of their tents or Quonset huts, and suffered from shortages in supplies and gear. Uniforms, if they could be procured despite their scarcity, made summers even more unbearably hot and provided little comfort from the cold. Catherine Neville remembers sending boots to a friend hastily shipped

[26]"No Longer Forgotten: African American Servicewomen During the Korean War Era" (online at http://www.womensmemorial.org/H&C/Exhibits/afamkoreaexhibit/afamkoreasplash.html). At a May 1951 WAC Staff Advisors Conference, Lt. Colonel Marie Clark, the advisor for the Far East, reported that "WACS in the Far East Command are being efficiently utilized in assignments heretofore believed by some could only be performed by male personnel." Quoted in Morden, *The Women's Army Corps*, 107.

[27] At least one Army nurse, Major Genevieve Smith, died as a result of her service in theater when the plane carrying her to Korea crashed. Sarnecky, *A History of the U.S. Army Nurse Corps*, 303.

[28] Sarnecky, *A History of the U.S. Army Nurse Corps*, 307 and "With the Army Nurse Corps in Korea," *American Journal of Nursing* 51:6 (June 1951), 387.

over to Korea without warm enough clothing for the frigid winter temperatures.[29] Life for women in Korea "was kind of rough."[30]

Even in outlying parts of the theater of operations, servicewomen ran into unexpected, even life altering difficulties. Though many servicemen, especially those who had become wounded, revered military nurses and other female G.I.s, some did not. Recalling her wartime service, Audrey Reid recounted that while overseas she was attacked twice by male members of the U.S. Armed Forces. On Okinawa a soldier Reid knew sexually assaulted her and in Japan an Air Force enlisted man who offered her a ride from the airport after a delayed flight attacked her. Fearing she would be blamed, Reid reported neither incident. Only twenty years later did Reid find the resolve to file a claim with the V.A., receiving a disability pension for post traumatic stress disorder.[31]

Whether in Korea or elsewhere in the Far East, servicewomen faced long days and heavy workloads. To accommodate the huge numbers of casualties, hospitals expanded almost beyond their capacities. Hospital ships with room for about a hundred patients began stacking bunk beds two and three tiers high to make room for five thousand patients and sixty-bed MASH units somehow managed to service two hundred wounded and sick persons when the necessity arose.[32] G.I.s from the battlefield came by ship, train, helicopter, bus, and ambulance and "they just kept coming."[33] In some places, the civilians came too, infected with worms and tuberculosis or

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[29] Sarnecky, *A History of the U.S. Army Nurse Corps,* 305. Catherine "Faye" Neville (AFC2001/001/113), Interview by Helen Roach and Win Wilbur, 25 February 2000, 10, Folder 2, VHPC, AFC, LOC; Hicks, Interview by Trojanowski, 25 February 1999, 8; and "Korean Assignment," *American Journal of Nursing* 53:6 (June 1953), 679.
[30] Hicks, Interview by Trojanowski, 25 February 1999, 5.
[31] Wayne Wangstad, "More Than One Female GI was Reluctant to Report Harassment," *St. Paul (MN) Pioneer Press,* 7 September 1998, 3D.
[32] Sarnecky, "The Army Nurse Corps in the Korean War;" Omori, *Quiet Heroes,* 6; and "With the Army Nurse Corps in Korea," *American Journal of Nursing* 51:6 (June 1951), 387.
[33] Omori, *Quiet Heroes,* 6.

somehow injured as a result of the war.[34] Without rest and sometimes without nourishment, nurses stayed on duty for shifts lasting twelve, eighteen, or even more hours—however many it took to care for those depending upon them.[35] No matter how much time women put in, though, they found it "just isn't possible to get everything done."[36] When nurses finally laid down to rest, they slept in their long johns, half ready for another wave of casualties or an early flight into the zone to pick up medical evacuees. They hoped that the ambulances rumbling in or the artillery in the background would rock them "to sleep in my Army cot from the reverberations."[37]

Caring for wounded and dying American G.I.s had a profound effect on servicewomen in theater. In the field and in operating rooms and wards they witnessed scenes that would haunt them for life. Commander Emery of the *U.S.S. Repose* wrote a letter home describing her patients, "eyes shot, legs shot off. And others half dead with abdominal wounds." She went on to tell about a soldier who had been taken prisoner, "tied to a tree and had both eyes shot out."[38] Commander Haire took note of the appearance of Marine casualties brought out of combat. "They came in unshaven, dirty, looking about forty years old. And most of them are still in their teens."[39] For Anita Bean, the image of "burnt bodies" would be the one she could not shake and carried with her out of Korea.[40] At the time, most nurses felt like they could "just sit down and

[34] Hicks, Interview by Trojanowski, 25 February 1999, 5-6.
[35] Lois Colgate Merritt, Lieutenant Helen Fable, and Nurse "Bing" (Commander Nancy J. Crosby) in Omori, *Quiet Heroes*, 18, 39, and 138-139. Conditions permitting, normal shifts lasted eight hours.
[36] From Commander Haire's journal, 2 November 1950 in Omori, *Quiet Heroes*, 89.
[37] [37]"No Longer Forgotten: African American Servicewomen During the Korean War Era" (online at http://www.womensmemorial.org/H&C/Exhibits/afamkoreaexhibit/afamkoreasplash.html) and Albert, "Air Evacuation From Korea," 257.
[38] Commander Emery in Omori, *Quiet Heroes*, 106.
[39] From Commander Haire's Journal, 2 November 1950 in Omori, *Quiet Heroes*, 89.
[40] Anita Bean, *Korean War Veteran Survey*, 6, CFSOKW.

cry for them [American G.I.s], if I had the time."[41] Many women, like Julia Baxter, did allow themselves a few tears. "When I first went to Korea, each soldier that came in the operating room seemed like my brother. It took a little while to get over that. We did a little crying, then got back to work."[42] As much witnesses to the carnage of the battlefield and the "vivid inhumanity of war" as the men who fought it, servicewomen stationed in the Far East wondered "what people in America would do if they had to go through some of the things that you would see in the war."[43] As they well knew, the experience was nearly impossible to forget. Time might dull some of the feelings of fear and remorse, but "the smell and sights do not leave you."[44]

Despite the hardships of working or living in the war zone, American servicewomen frequently ended their tours of duty with a great sense of personal satisfaction.[45] In country they had met successfully the challenges set before them, saved lives, learned new skills, and fulfilled their duty to country. They discovered "where some of my weaknesses were, where some of my strengths were … and grew from that experience, both as a nurse and as a person."[46] Also, just like men who forged deep bonds in the midst of battle, women in Korea formed lasting and binding friendships unlike any they would "have again in your life." As war veterans, they became aware that "you can never fully share these things with civilians as they can't possibly understand where you've been or what you have done or what it all feels like." But, they joined

[41] From Commander Haire's Journal, 2 November 1950 in Omori, *Quiet Heroes,* 89.
[42] Julia Baxter in Rudi Williams, "Retired Army Nurse Recalls Korean War Service," 30 March 2001 (online at http://www.defenselink.mil/news/mar2001/).
[43] Omori, *Quiet Heroes,* 8 and Hicks, Interview by Trojanowski, 25 February 1999, 5.
[44] Anita Bean, *Korean War Veteran Survey,* 6, CFSOKW.
[45] See Nurse "Bing" (Commander Nancy J. Crosby) in Omori, *Quiet Heroes,* 138-139.
[46] 1st Lt. Mary C. Quinn, Interview by Clara L. Adams-Ender, 13 April 1980, 35, United States Army Nurse Corps Oral History Program, Army Nurse Corps Historian Files, U. S. Army Center for Military History, Washington D.C., quoted in Sarnecky, *A History of the U.S. Army Nurse Corps,* 310-311.

an exclusive and special sisterhood of veterans in which others unequivocally "know how you feel and who you are."[47]

Race and the War

For the most part, the United States Armed Forces began the Korean War just as they had begun every war since the American Revolution, racially segregated. Despite Truman's 1948 Executive Order 9981 mandating an end to discrimination in the military, segregation remained rampant. Prior to the Korean War, the Air Force had begun phasing out segregated units, the Marine Corps and Army had flirted with integrating some types of training, and racial restrictions barring African Americans from certain jobs and technical schools within the Army had been eliminated.[48] But, especially in the Marine Corps and Army, racial prejudices in both the upper echelons and lower ranks resulted in the continuance of all-black or in some instances all-Puerto Rican units. Thus at the outset of the war, black men, whether or not they had trained in mixed outfits, often ended up serving in segregated units overseas.[49]

In theater, as at home, life in all-black units proved anything but "separate but equal" for the men stuck in them. First, there existed the matter of reputation. The American military and press generally accepted the belief that blacks could not perform as well in combat as whites,

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[47] Anita Bean, *Korean War Veteran Survey*, back of page 6, CFSOKW.
[48] Richard F. Haynes, *The Awesome Power: Harry S. Truman as Commander in Chief* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1973), 90-93.
[49] Anne Hoiberg, "Military Staying Power," in Sam Sarkesian, ed., *Combat Effectiveness: Cohesion, Stress, and the Volunteer* (Beverly Hills, CA: Sage, 1980), 225 and Morris J. MacGregor, Jr., *Integration of the Armed Forces, 1940-1965* (Washington, D. C.: Center of Military History, U. S. Army, 1981), 436. The same seems not to have been true for black servicewomen. MASH units and hospitals in the Far East Command, where most women in the war zone worked and lived, were integrated, as was the U. S. Army Nurse Corps. Sarnecky, *A History of the U.S. Army Nurse Corps*, 316 and Bellafaire, "Volunteering for Risk."

writing them off as unreliable and cowardly. Early reports of the all-black 24th Infantry Regiment in Korea reinforced these stereotypes, alleging that black soldiers "melt into the night" only to return the next day with tales of getting lost.[50] White troops fighting alongside the regiment disgustedly recounted how "blacks bugged out and left their artillery in place" and "made the black soldiers targets of racist remarks and actions."[51] Though less than exemplary behavior characterized both black and white units sent into the war zone in July or August of 1950 before adequately prepared and equipped, derision fell disproportionately upon African Americans.[52] Keenly aware of this, many blacks in Korea tried "to prove ourselves as equal to—or better than—the white soldiers." They decided that, "We could not let ourselves down…We couldn't let our race down. We couldn't afford to fail."[53] And, many believed that they succeeded. They "had gone into combat and had fought well" and "given an even chance, we could out-soldier and out-fight any white soldier."[54] Occasionally, as in May 1951 when a white captain brought the men under his command to see an all-black Ranger unit, telling them "This is what happens when men don't panic," black troops received the praise that they craved.[55] But, even long after Yechon, the earliest victory of the war and one for which courageous black troops deserved most of the credit, blacks had reason to complain that "Whitey would never

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[50] Martin Binkin et al., *Blacks and the Military* (Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institution, 1982), 28-29.
[51] Ray R. Deimler, Army Service (Korean War) Questionnaire, 5, 2nd Division, 23rd Regiment, Alphabetical Box 1, Department of the Army, Carlisle Barracks and Michael A. Fletcher, "Korean War Veterans Seek to Block Book Critical of Black Unit," *Washington Post*, 19 January 1997, A4.
[52] In his study of the 24th Infantry Regiment, one that African Americans incidentally protested as biased, William Bowers blames poor performance among black units early in the war on deficiencies in leadership, training, supply, and support, the very same things credited with hampering the performance of white troops. He concludes that color was not a main factor. William T. Bowers et al., *Black Soldier White Army: The 24th Infantry Regiment in Korea* (Washington D.C.: Center of Military History, United States Army, 1996), vi.
[53] James Monte in S. Thorne Harper, "All-Black Ranger Unit Recalls Fighting for America During Segregation Two Fronts," *Columbus (GA) Ledger-Enquirer*, 28 July 2002, A1.
[54]Charles M. Bussey, *Firefight at Yechon: Courage and Racism in the Korean War* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2002), 148 and Morrow, *Whats a Commie Ever Done to Black People?*, 35.
[55] Harper, "All Black Ranger Unit Recalls Fighting for America During Segregation Two Fronts," *Columbus (GA) Ledger-Enquirer*, 28 July 2002, A1.

acknowledge all our deeds of honor" and point out their discouragement "that no other papers outside of our own have been willing to give them [black troops] credit."[56]

Given prevailing prejudices, few whites relished the idea of commanding all-black troops. Not only did they assume African American soldiers or Marines to be less competent than white ones, but they viewed such an assignment as "the worst thing that can happen to him in the military," a "dead end" for their careers.[57] Consequently, segregated units too often became a "dumping ground" for officers unwanted in white units but less than committed to their new black ones.[58] Also, despite Samuel Stouffer's landmark study on American soldiers in World War II, which showed that blacks unequivocally preferred to serve under northern rather than southern whites, the Korean War military continued to assign white Southerners to leadership positions in units like the 24th Infantry Regiment with the idea that they had more experience dealing with people of color.[59] Southern-born or not, many of the white officers assigned to black units served diligently and faithfully, but more than a few went into the job with a "patronizing expectation of failure" and others were simply "outright racist sons of bitches."[60] One commander in the 24th decided to make the men "mad enough to fight" by telling them how bad they were and other officers in the regiment routinely ridiculed the men in their charge rather than encouraging them.[61] In a similar vein, appointed to replace Colonel Juan Cesar Cordero Davila as the regimental commander of the all-Puerto Rican 65th Infantry

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[56] Morrow, *What's a Commie Ever Done to Black People?*, 11 and Roy C. Wright, "Why Should Negroes Die for 2nd-Class Citizenship?," *Pittsburgh Courier*, 27 January 1951, 11. The mainstream press did cover the actions of "Tan Yanks" at Yechon, but beyond that made little mention of African American sacrifices and contributions.
[57] Van Zandt, Interview by Liston and Kraenzlin, 11 March 1996, 35. See also Berry, Oral History by Caudill, 37. Berry discusses the difficulty of getting officers for the 24th and the lack of black leadership.
[58] Binkin et al., *Blacks and the Military*, 22.
[59] Stouffer's conclusions that blacks preferred northern whites as officers can be found in Bogart, *Project Clear*, xix.
[60] Beverly Scott in Tomedi, *No Bugles, No Drums*, 178.
[61] Bowers et al., *Black Soldier White Army*, 134.

Regiment after the Battle for Outpost Kelly, Colonel Chester B. DeGavre, a white West Point graduate, ordered all the men under him to "shave their moustaches 'until such a time as they gave proof of their manhood'" and made some of them wear signs reading "I am a coward."[62] It certainly crossed the minds of black soldiers that the same officer leading them in Korea "could be the very one that put a rope around one of our necks next year someplace in the States" or might be "the very one to deny us the very rights that we are here fighting for the South Koreans to enjoy." At least amongst themselves, black troops asked, "How can they wonder why we don't trust them? Would they trust us if they were in our place?"[63]

Making matters worse, African Americans found it difficult to rise in rank. In segregated units, the Armed Forces tended to appoint white officers and pass over blacks when it came time for promotions, giving men the impression, "If you were black, to occupy the position of platoon sergeant or first sergeant it was mission impossible."[64] After integration, the problem persisted. "While Blacks and whites fought, slept, and ate together in Korea there was not a corresponding sharing of parity in terms of promotions and quality of MOS's."[65] Despite some breakthroughs, most blacks found themselves trapped on the lower rungs of the military ladder in infantry, service, or supply outfits rather than climbing up in personnel services, intelligence, or the officer corps. Now willing to allow African Americans to fight, the military exposed a slightly higher percentage of them to combat than their white counterparts.[66] Blacks drew the worst

[62] Matthew Hay Brown, "New Generation Fights for 65th, Advocates Say a Puerto Rican Unit Was Treated Unjustly During the Korean War," *Orlando Sentinel*, 27 May 2002, A1.
[63] Morrow, *What's a Commie Ever Done to Black People?*, 34.
[64] Hector J. Figueroa-Ruiz, Army Service (Korean War) Questionnaire, 5, 3rd Division, Alphabetical Box 1, Department of the Army, Carlisle Barracks.
[65] Samuel L. Banks, "The Korean Conflict," *Negro History Bulletin* 36:6 (1973), 131.
[66] Surveyed in 1987, only about 34.4% of white Korean War era veterans claimed combat exposure compared to 40.2% of black veterans. Interestingly, Hispanics had the highest rate of exposure at 42.9%. "1987 Survey of Veterans (conducted for the Department of Veterans Affairs by the U. S. Bureau of the Census) (July 1989)," 24, NA, RG 015, Box 1.

assignments and found little redress despite complaints.[67] And, entering the officer corps did not provide any guarantees of equal treatment anyway. In Dan Grimes' platoon, the first lieutenant was a black medical doctor whom the Army had assigned as an infantry platoon leader.[68] Still, when African Americans managed to secure promotions, they felt that they had beaten the odds and rejoiced that they had won "a battle in the continuing war against Jim Crow."[69]

Hindered by ineffective leadership, a lack of trust between officers and enlisted men, poor morale, and the general unpreparedness typical of all American units in the early months of the war, black troops perhaps did not perform as well in combat as they might otherwise have done, and many individuals suffered grave consequences because of it. By the end of 1950, officers of the 24th had made complaints against 118 G.I.s in their care. Of the 82 which led to courts-martial, 54 accused African Americans of displaying misbehavior before the enemy, namely cowardice. With only 8 white soldiers charged with the same offense, African Americans concluded that "the Army's policy was to punish Negroes more harshly than white soldiers. … It was common knowledge that Negroes went to trial for offenses that were only winked about when perpetrated by white soldiers."[70] The findings of the all-white investigating officers and the all-white Inspector-General Judge Advocate's Office staff seemed to bear out these suspicions. Thirty-two blacks were convicted and sentenced to death, life, or 5 to 50 years hard labor. At the same time, courts-martial found only 2 of the 8 whites guilty as charged.

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[67] Samuel L. Banks, "The Korean Conflict," *Negro History Bulletin* 36:6 (1973), 131 and Plummer, *Rising Wind*, 205.

[68] Dan Spence Grimes, Army Service (Korean War) Questionnaire, 5, 2nd Division, 23rd Regiment, Alphabetical Box 2, Department of the Army, Carlisle Barracks.

[69] Dryden, *A-Train*, 292. During the Korean War, most African American officers served in segregated units. See Selika M. Ducksworth, *What Hour of the Night: Black Enlisted Men's Experiences and the Desegregation of the Army During the Korean War, 1950-1951* (Ph.D. diss., Ohio State University, 1997), 128.

[70] Bussey, *Firefight at Yechon*, 117. At least one white officer with the 24th seemed to agree when he noted that "there was a white officer in 1st [Battalion] who kept evading courts-martial because charges were never brought against him for one reason or another." John S. Komp in Bowers, *Black Soldier White Army*,186.

Convinced that they had been railroaded, several of the accused appealed to the NAACP for assistance with their defense. As chief legal counsel of the NAACP, Thurgood Marshall arrived in Tokyo to conduct his own investigation and represent the men on appeal. Initially denied entrance by General MacArthur's office, Marshall ultimately concluded that "the condemned men had been the victims of deep-seated racial prejudice."[71] Eventually the NAACP succeeded in getting "reduced sentences or reversed convictions for most of the men it defended, but these cases illuminated the discrepancies between ideals and practice in a society plagued by racism."[72]

Stateside, the black press followed stories of the condemned men closely, especially the case of Leon Gilbert whose death sentence President Truman commuted, and a lively discourse played out in the editorials. Some wanted to know, "Was Gilbert the only soldier or officer to crack under the strain? What happened to the whites who broke and ran?"[73] Others hit home the point that "the treatment of the Negro troops in Korea is serving as a highlight of the oppression of the whole Negro people in America."[74] A few, though, decided that it would have been better for Gilbert if he'd just died instead of living to lower the morale of other soldiers "who erroneously believe that he was mistreated."[75] All in all, however, most black readers, no matter

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[71] Bowers, *Black Soldier White Army,* 186.
[72] Plummer, *Rising Wind,* 205. For more information on the courts-martial in Korea, see Bowers, *Black Soldier White Army,* 185-187; Plummer, *Rising Wind,* 205-206; and Bostlemann, *The Cold War and the Color Line,* 82. While the 24th did suffer a high number of courts-martial, the largest court-martial of the Korean War actually involved the Puerto Rican 65th Infantry Regiment. After suffering more than 500 casualties and having their Puerto Rican commander replaced, almost 200 Puerto Ricans walked away from the fight, ending up in the stockade. Ultimately 95 were tried and 91 were found guilty. In the 1990s the case was investigated and the Army found "bias in the prosecution of Puerto Ricans" as many whites were not charged after refusing to fight in similar circumstances. For a fuller account, see Brown, "New Generation Fights For 65th," *Orlando Sentinel,* 27 May 2002, A1.
[73] "The Gilbert Case," *Pittsburgh Courier,* 9 December 1950, 6.
[74] Mel Williamson, "Gilbert Case Brings Army Attitude Into Sharp Focus," *Pittsburgh Courier,* 18 November 1950, 16.
[75] William K. Spears, "Better to Die Nobly Than Live in Infamy," *Pittsburgh Courier,* 19 July 1952, 11.

how they felt about the individuals involved in the courts-martial, wanted the stigma of poor service "removed from their sons."[76] So did the men serving in Korea and Japan, whether or not they read the articles published in their absence.

In theater, the perception that African Americans were being unfairly targeted by officers for courts-martial merely added to the discontent of black servicemen which continued to fester throughout the conflict. Serving America overseas, blacks reflected that "colored Americans are dying in Korea today for less than a square deal."[77] Back home, especially in the South, the same country that now expected them to make grave sacrifices for it relegated them to second class citizenship. William Weathersbee recalled that "We were 'boys.' No one ever referred to us as 'men.'" And when his all-black Airborne Ranger Company, the 2nd, left for Korea, they had to enter through the back door of the Columbia, Georgia train depot while the all-white 4th strolled through the front. "We were going to Korea together, but we couldn't go through the train station together. … We couldn't travel together in the civilian world."[78] Similarly, with orders for Korea in his pocket, a Kansas restaurant refused to serve Air Force officer John Smith and his fiancée, telling them, "We'll fix you some sandwiches and you can pick them up in a brown bag at the back door."[79]

News from home confirmed that nothing had changed since they left.[80] Along with a clipping about his meritorious service in Korea, Charles Dryden's wife included a letter detailing how their four year old daughter had been separated from other children and given different food

[76] "Smearing Negro GIs in Korea," *Crisis* (December 1950), 715.
[77] "Capital Hypocrisy Making Mockery of GI Sacrifices," *Pittsburgh Courier*, 20 January 1951, 8.
[78] William Weathersbee in S. Thorne Harper, "All Black Ranger Unit Recalls Fighting for America," *Columbus (GA) Ledger-Enquirer*, 28 July 2002, A1.
[79] William E. and Betty L. Alt, *Black Soldiers, White Wars: Black Warriors From Antiquity to the Present* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2002), 104.
[80] Banks, "The Korean Conflict," 132.

at nursery school because of her color.[81] Wives and mothers of men fighting in Korea had to band together in Milwaukee, Wisconsin to overcome discrimination in hiring at factories and businesses, their advocates pointing out that blacks "are doing a good job of fighting for democracy, but these women are denied a chance to work."[82] In Carthage, North Carolina, three men who raped a soldier's nineteen year old wife while he fought in Korea got off with a sentence of 16-24 months in what the black press termed "Dixie justice."[83] And, as always, African Americans continued to be lynched back in the States, a sharp and painful reminder to men on the battlefield of "the racist attitudes of some of our fellow Americans back home." As one veteran points out, "It always left a bitter taste in my mouth, especially after viewing the torn bodies of comrades who maybe an hour or so earlier had been fighting at my side but now lay dead all around me."[84]

Even in the military and in the war zone, plenty of things reminded black soldiers and Marines of their status. In a 1951 scandal involving Confederate flags hanging from Army tanks, Hunt Clement, Jr., the spokesman for the Secretary of Defense, ignored U.S. Army regulations forbidding the private use of "official, personal, or organizational flags" and asserted that "There is no policy on the display of that particular flag."[85] Almost a year later the Army gave permission to the 31st Infantry Division band to wear Confederate uniforms because the rebel gray "represents the regional origin of the division which enjoys all the heritage of the 'Deep South' from which the division comes."[86] Worse yet, rebel flags fluttered in abundance in Korea and the Red Cross continued to label blood by race until faced with protests by United

[81] Dryden, *A-Train*, 283.
[82] "Group of 92nd Division Vets ban to Fight Job Bias in Wis.," *Baltimore Afro-American*, 19 August 1950, 15.
[83] Alex M. Rivera, Jr., "Dixie Justice!," *Pittsburgh Courier*, 2 February 1952, 1 and 4.
[84] Morrow, *What's a Commie Ever Done to Black People?*, 11.
[85] Stanley Roberts, "Top Brass Silent as Alarm Spreads," *Pittsburgh Courier*, 29 September 1951, 5.
[86] "Army OKs Uniforms of 'Rebels,'" *Pittsburgh Courier*, 10 May 1952, 5.

Nations employees.[87] In Japan, General Douglas MacArthur's headquarters sported a plethora of Jim Crow signs and "the 'great man' did absolutely nothing to clean up his command."[88] In the zone of operations, black men regardless of training and expertise often ended up unloading munitions in Pusan or working at some other "job beneath my training and intelligence."[89] Symbolic of the low esteem in which the American military and society held "tan soldiers," the all-black 24th Infantry Regiment and the all-Puerto Rican 65th Infantry Regiment became the first and only units to be disbanded and have their colors rolled while members continued to fight on the battleground.

Confronted with such harsh realities, black troops suffered from low morale and questioned their role in America's latest fight for democracy. On a personal level they wondered, "Why should the black man fight when he's not free?"[90] And they "felt they were stupid to risk their lives unduly because when they got home they didn't have the rewards citizenship should have provided."[91] They were "supposedly fighting to protect the freedom of American society, even as that freedom was denied us in our own country."[92] About the war, African Americans in uniform asked, "Can we as leaders of the 'free world' tell anyone about democracy when we have organizations like the Ku Klux Klan running people out of certain

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[87] "Rebel Flags Still Flying In Korea…Unashamedly!," *Pittsburgh Courier,* 15 December 1951, 11 and Plummer, *Rising Wind,* 204.
[88] Letter to the editor by "A Very Proud Veteran," "Believes MacArthur's Firing an 'Act of God,'" *Pittsburgh Courier,* 5 May 1951, 11. So segregated was MacArthur's headquarters that Thurgood Marshall noted when he came during the war to investigate blacks being court-martialed that it had no blacks on duty at all. See Bernard Nalty, *Strength For the Fight: A History of African Americans in the Military,* (New York: The Free Press, 1986), 258.
[89] John Smith in Alt, *Black Soldiers, White Wars,* 104.
[90] Donald Carter, Interview by Nathan Stanley, quoted in "When Black is Burned: The Treatment of African American Soldiers During the Korean War," online at http://mcel.pacificu.edu/as/students/stanley/carter.html.
[91] Captain Charles Bussey in Bowers, *Black Soldier, White Army,* 140.
[92] Morrow, *What's a Commie Ever Done to Black People,* 1.

places because of their color?"[93] Undoubtedly a few agreed with activists back home who suggested that Korea "is not the Negro war" and that the Army integrated only so it could continue to use African Americans in its "fight to reduce other colored people to the same status as Negroes."[94] Contrasting the enemy with fellow Americans, black soldiers did not always find common cause with their countrymen. "Have the communists ever enslaved our people? Have they ever raped our women? Have they ever castrated our fathers, grandfathers, uncles, or cousins?"[95] Blacks had "had to fight for the right to fight," but now many pondered just where and against whom that struggle should be—in Korea against the North Koreans and Chinese or back in the United States against Jim Crow and second class citizenship.[96]

Even so, manpower needs on the Korean front pushed the military to integrate units in country, chipping away at some of the walls separating Americans of different colors. Commanders of all-white units on the line, faced with heavy casualties and in dire need of replacements, began to grab men to fill their ranks without regard to race. In August 1950, the 9th Infantry of the 2nd Infantry Division already had two black officers and 89 black enlisted men and by December the division had absorbed so many African Americans that they composed roughly 11% of its troops.[97] Convinced of the practicality of this ad hoc, unauthorized integration, other outfits followed suit so that by the time General Matthew Ridgway replaced Douglas MacArthur as Supreme Commander he could see firsthand the smooth transition to

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[93] Sergeant William H. D. Brown, "Letters," *Baltimore Afro-American,* 26 October 1951, 4.
[94] John E. Rousseau, "'War With Korea Not Cure,' Patterson Tells Louisiana Negroes," *Pittsburgh Courier,* 3 March 1951, 2.
[95] Morrow, *What's a Commie Ever Done to Black People?,*34.
[96] *Ibid*., 8.
[97] Bill Smith, "Black Soldiers Fully Shared the Korean War's Bloody Cost," *St. Louis Post-Dispatch,* 2 February 2002, A1; MacGregor, *Integration of the Armed Forces,*433-434; Bostlemann, *The Cold War and the Color Line,* 81; Charles C. Moskos, Jr., "Racial Integration in the Armed Forces," *American Journal of Sociolog* 72:2 (September 1966), 135; and Richard Dalfiume, *Desegregation of the Armed Forces: Fighting on Two Fronts, 1939-1953* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1969), 204.

mixed units in the field and the underlying potential for greater efficiency in the use of manpower. On May 14, 1951, Ridgway requested permission to abolish segregation in the Far East Command and shortly thereafter it became policy to assign men individually to understrength units based on nothing more than military occupational specialty.[98]

As early as the fall of 1951, changes could be felt. Not only did the Army deactivate the 24th, but the Marine Corps cancelled its last all-black unit designation. Almost 20% of blacks in the war zone were serving in units experiencing integration and a fair number of whites had been assigned to predominantly black units with black officers and NCOs.[99] Also, National Guard units like the Oklahoma 45th, initially exempted from integration, began accepting African American replacements while in theater.[100] With desegregation proving a great success on the battleground, raising morale among black troops and streamlining the channels delivering men to the field, officials in the Armed Forces began to lean toward full integration worldwide.[101] That would take some time, however. Not until September 1953 could the Army announce that 90% of its black strength was serving in integrated units and the Secretary of Defense could not proclaim the abolition of the last segregated unit of the Armed Forces until October 30, 1954. As late as 1955 the Navy continued to shuttle more than half of its African Americans into the Stewards' Branch, prompting Representative Adam Clayton Powell, Jr. of the Committee on Education and Labor to inform the Assistant Secretary to the Navy for Air that "No one is

[98] MacGregor, *Integration of the Military*, 433 and Military Personnel Management Division, Human Relations and Research Branch, "Integration of Negro Personnel," Memo by Steve C. Davis, 18 April 1952, NA, RG 319, Box 007.
[99] MacGregor, *Integration of the Military*, 434-436 and 460. See also Bogart, *Project Clear*, 9.
[100] William M. Donnelly, *Under Army Orders: The Army National Guard During the Korean War* (College Station: Texas A & M University Press, 2001), 120-121 and MacGregor, *Integration of the Military*, 436.
[101] MacGregor, *Integration of the Military*, 449-450 and Dalfiume, *Desegregation of the Armed Forces*, 219.

interested in today's world in fighting communism with a frying pan or shoe polish."[102] Although the Korean War did not turn out to be a fully integrated war as did Vietnam later, it provided a testing ground for integration, bringing thousands of Americans of different colors and ethnicities into close contact with one another for the first time. From the President to the top brass to the lowliest privates to the loved ones back home, everyone watched with the same questions in their eyes: How would this experiment work and what changes, if any, would it bring?

Both hope and apprehension surrounded decisions to integrate the military. Officials optimistically recalled the end of World War II when black and white infantrymen fought side by side in Germany and "such a policy is working."[103] Soldiers had accepted the situation quickly. As one white platoon sergeant from South Carolina admitted, "When I heard about it, I said I'd be damned if I'd wear the same shoulder patch they did. After that first day when we saw how they fought, I changed my mind. They're just like any of the other boys to us."[104] It had not mattered then who was "firing next to you when you're both killing Krauts," and the military had every expectation that the same would prove true for Americans fighting the communists in this

[102] Adam Clayton Powell, Jr. to John Floberg, 29 June 1953, NA, RG 319, Box 007. Between 1948 and 1955 between 66.23% and 51.19% of blacks in the Navy served in the Stewards' Branch, but in 1956 the percent finally dropped to just over 25%. U. S. Bureau of Naval Personnel, "Memo on Discrimination of the Negro," 24 January 1959, NA, RG 319, Box 7. Still, "pockets of Negro segregation" continued to be found in the Navy by investigators from the ACLU. Patrick Murphy Malin to Thomas S. Gates, Jr., 26 November 1957, NA, RG 319, Box 007. In 1956, the Navy signed white men up for the Stewards' Branch, but as late as 1961 these comprised only 10% of the total. In that year, the commandant set a racial quota on steward assignment, ordering that one half of all volunteers for the steward duty be white. Within two months of this order, 20% of men in the Stewards' Branch were white. Interestingly, most white volunteers came from southeastern states. MacGregor, *Integration of the Armed Forces*, 470-471.

[103] Truman K. Gibson, Jr., Civilian Aide to the Secretary of War, at a press conference, 9 April 1945, Box 1, "Desegregation of the Armed Forces," folder 4, CFSOKW. See also, Binkin et al., *Blacks and the Military*, 21.

[104] Peter Karsten, *Soldiers and Society: The Effects of Military Service and War on American Life* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1978), 210.

war.[105] Many African Americans viewed desegregation in country as a stepping stone on the path to respect or even equality. If they fought well and whites saw them fight well then there would be "no way they could justify their racist attitudes toward their fellow American comrades in war or peace."[106] Blacks expected that "When the white boys get back and tell of their experience with the colored over here…that will help some."[107] Then, "our struggles and sacrifices for freedom in Korea would result correspondingly in a larger measure of freedom, dignity, and opportunity for our loved ones at home."[108] On the line in Korea, weary soldiers and Marines were ready to welcome more men and "didn't care who, what, or where they came from—we needed help."[109] "We could use all the men we could get. The overriding thought was that, white or Negro, a Marine was a Marine."[110] They saw "no reason why the white boys should be fighting and the others not doing their share."[111] And, the more troops that flowed into the war zone, the better chance one had of surviving and rotating out when the time came.

Still, members of both races had misgivings. General Mark Clark believed that all-white units were the most effective and accepted desegregation only because "Negroes…demonstrably, cannot or will not fight effectively as all-Negro units, [so] there is really no choice…except to insert small percentages of them into white units."[112] Similarly, many white soldiers presumed that "black soldiers were not reliable and [in] many cases [were] a liability" and they "did not

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[105] White NCO quoted by Truman K. Gibson, Jr., at a press conference, 9 April 1945, Box 1, "Desegregation of the Armed Forces," folder 4, CFSOKW.
[106] Morrow, *What's a Commie Ever Done to Black People?*, 35.
[107] Negro Infantryman in Bogart, *Project Clear*, 129.
[108] Banks, "The Korean Conflict," 132.
[109] Richard W. Bass, Army Service (Korean War) Questionnaire, 5, 23rd Regiment, Alphabetical Box 1, Department of the Army, Carlisle Barracks.
[110] Owen, *Colder Than Hell*, 6.
[111] A regimental executive officer in Leo Bogart, ed., *Project Clear: Social Research and the Desegregation of the United States Army* (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 1992), 33.
[112] Mark W. Clark, "Negro Battalions 'Weakened Battle Line,'" *U. S. News and World Report* XL (May 11, 1956), 55. Clark also remarked after the war that he did not believe "we should integrate then (1950) and I do not think so now." "Pentagon Aide Refutes Clark on Negro GIs," *New York Post*, 30 April 1956, 4.

trust them to stay and fight."[113] If the rumors were true, more soldiers did not mean an improvement in their situation and they would be better off waiting for white replacements, however long it took. For their part, African Americans sometimes feared joining white units where they might suffer from discrimination or lose the comfortable positions that they had held in segregated units.[114] As one enlisted man said, "I would rather be in a colored unit for the simple reason I don't like them (white people). I would rather be with colored people all the time. You can't always trust a white man."[115] And, many African Americans thought that even if integration functioned smoothly in the war zone, the gains in race relations would not last. "It might work in Korea. White man is your friend as long as you're protecting his ass. In the States and over here it's different. When the white man think he out of danger then he will act different."[116] In the end, though, it did not really matter how men felt about the idea of serving in a mixed outfit. Like most decisions since they mustered into the service, the military would make this one for them. Trained to obey orders, Government Issue in black, brown, yellow, white, red, or olive drab would do as told.

Once a unit integrated, things could be tense for a while. Having been raised on opposite sides of the color line, real differences existed between African American and white troops and both possessed deep-seated prejudices. In general, whites objected to the way that blacks used the word "motherfucker" in a "freewheeling manner," noticed uncomfortable dissimilarities "like the way they think about women, like their education and bringing up," and had little regard for

[113] James K. Donahue and Ray R. Deimler, 5 for both, Army Service (Korean War) Questionnaire, 5, 2nd Division, 23rd Regiment, Alphabetical Box 1, Department of the Army, Carlisle Barracks.
[114] Ducksworth, *What Hour of the Night*, 1.
[115] Negro Enlisted Man in Bogart, *Project Clear*, 51.
[116] Negro MP in Bogart, *Project Clear*, 129.

black culture or capability.[117] Influenced by the reputation of all-black units in Korea, they shunned the idea of incorporating non-white elements into their ranks. Who wanted to be saddled with men who would simply bug out at the first hint of trouble?[118] Furthermore, many whites strongly objected to serving under black officers, declaring, "We ain't letting those niggers run us!"[119] In instances where white Southerners made up a large percentage of an outfit, officers had to be particularly careful in making command and bunker assignments because "the distrust between the Southerner and the black man was still evident."[120] African Americans put into previously all-white units understandably often felt uncomfortable at first. Beverly Scott remembers the cool reception he received when transferring from the 24th. Although a communications officer, badly needed everywhere along the line, each unit he came to claimed to have no vacancies for his specialty. Finally accepted by a primarily Hispanic outfit, Scott found other officers unfriendly and was passed over for the position of company executive officer although he outranked the other lieutenants.[121] The first black in his unit, Ronald Johnson remembers, "I caught hell. Constant fights, verbal abuse and did not feel that I belonged."[122] Others observed that "a few of the regulars were still a little too 'cracker'"[123] Put into mostly black units, whites did not fare much better. They "had a sort of funny feeling, kind of out of place" and got "trouble from a few belligerent people."[124] Occasionally when blacks

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[117] Craig, *Lifer!,* 40 and White Infantryman in Bogart, *Project Clear,* 43.
[118] Robert C. Bjork, 5, Army Service (Korean War) Questionnaire, 5, 2nd Division, 23rd Regiment, Alphabetical Box 1, Department of the Army, Carlisle Barracks.
[119] Owen, *Colder Than Hell,* 34.
[120] Matthias, *The Korean War,* 104. See also Craig, *Lifer!,* 40-41.
[121] Beverly Scott in Tomedi, *No Bugles, No Drums,* 179.
[122] Ronald H. Johnson, 5, Army Service (Korean War) Questionnaire, 5, 5th Regimental Combat Team, Department of the Army, Carlisle Barracks.
[123] Sergeant Dale in Owen, *Colder Than Hell,* 34.
[124] Sergeant Lyman D. Heacock in Bowers, *Black Soldier, White Army,* 218 and Raymond I. Delcambre, 5, Army Service (Korean War) Questionnaire, 5, 2nd Division, 23rd Regiment, Alphabetical Box 1, Department of the Army, Carlisle Barracks.

and whites were shuffled together, riots erupted, such as in Tokyo in 1953 where a scuffle between different colored soldiers "over the merits of their respective combat units" led to a brawl in which several men were injured.[125] Such incidents proved rare, however. On balance most integrating units in country could claim, "We had not one racial difficulty."[126] At most, troops of different races tended to congregate separately when possible instead of mixing unnecessarily.[127]

Given time, men in mixed units usually came to look beyond race when judging their comrades. In civilian life, people of a different color "were an unknown equation and subject to what we observed and heard from our parents and neighbors."[128] But, jumbled together aboard ship or in foxholes, men (and women) in the war zone "got to know each other" as individuals and their attitudes changed.[129] Whites "found that the more time I spent with them [blacks] the less prejudice I had" and discovered "that a colored man is just as good as a white."[130] Blacks saw that "these 'fay [white] boys ain't so bad to get along with. I find them no different from other folks." Even men with more deeply rooted racial biases came to respect the men with whom they served. One white infantryman declared, "I didn't like niggers nohow, but now I

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[125] "GIs Riot in Japan," *Pittsburgh Courier,* 18 July 1953, 1. Problems with integration were more severe out of theater than in the war zone. In Germany in 1951 nearly 700 black and white soldiers fought each other in a German café because black soldiers were publicly dating German girls. The clash sent 40 men to the hospital. "Army Probes GI Race Riot," *Pittsburgh Courier,* 19 May 1951, 1. A few soldiers recall also recall smaller fights between whites and blacks. See Douglas G. Anderson, Army Service (Korean War) Questionnaire, 5, 2nd Division, 23rd Regiment, Alphabetical Box 1, Department of the Army, Carlisle Barracks.

[126] 1st Lieutenant Joseph Bracy in William Berebitsky, *A Very Long Weekend: the Army National Guard in Korea, 1950-1953* (Shippensburg, PA: White Mane Publishing Company, 1996), 316.

[127] Sarnecky, *A History of the U.S. Army Nurse Corps,* 316 and Gilbert Charles Pfleger, Army Service (Korean War) Questionnaire, 5, 5th Regimental Combat Team, Department of the Army, Carlisle Barracks. Army officers did discourage self-segregation. In Pusan, one group of blacks demanded separate quarters and all-black gun crews, but Colonel Percy L. Wale, a Southerner, refused on the grounds that orders said to integrated. Major Vernon Sikes in Berebitsky, *A Very Long Weekend*, 253.

[128] Don Ellwood to Melinda Pash, email, 12 May 2004, in author's possession.

[129] Clentell Jackson in Chuck Haga, "Legacy of the Korean War: Blending Black and White, A Public Radio Documentary Examines how the Conflict 50 Years Ago Hastened Racial Integration of the United States," *Minneapolis Star-Tribune,* 7 July 2003, 1B.

[130] White Regimental Staff Officer and White Infantryman in Bogart, *Project Clear,* 96-97.

think there are some exceptions who are good as white men." Similarly, a black enlisted man noted, "I hate white people. Now if all white people were like the boys in this company, it wouldn't take long before everybody would get along swell."[131] The familiarity with persons of different races fostered by military service in the Korean War helped many Americans understand that a person's worth and character depended more upon "what their background is" than on the pigmentation of their skin and they came to believe, "If men would get used to each other as we do here, there'd be no trouble anywhere about race.[132]

On the fighting front, transformations happened even more quickly and completely than behind the lines. With a real enemy just across no-man's land or over the next ridge, time simply did not exist for racism. Men "were too busy…to entertain race problems."[133] "When you jumped into a foxhole for cover, you weren't thinking about the color of the fellow next to you. That was the least of your concerns."[134] Also, combat forced men to depend upon one another for survival, ensuring that "one's main concern [with another] was how well he could do the job assigned….Whether a guy was black or white was way down on any list, if at all."[135] Whites might have harbored fears that blacks would perform poorly when it mattered most, but in reality they proved "no better—or worse—than the rest of us" and most men in integrated units decided,

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[131] Bogart, *Project Clear,* 97-99.
[132] White Infantrymen in Bogart, *Project Clear,* 97 and 43. Studies conducted both after World War II and during the Korean War show that with exposure to men of different races soldiers became more tolerant and less likely to support or participate in racism or discrimination. Integrated military service did break down racial barriers. See Bogart, *Project Clear* and Research Branch Information and Education Division, Headquarters, European Theater of Operations, under authority of The Commanding General, ETOUSA, "Opinions About Negro Infantry Platoons in White Companies of 7 Divisions," Information and Education Division Report no. B-157 (Washington, D.C.: Headquarters Army Service Forces, 3 July 1945), "Harry S. Truman Library Research File," Box 20, CFSOKW.
[133] Dan Spence Grimes, Army Service (Korean War) Questionnaire, 5, 2nd Division, 23rd Regiment, Alphabetical Box 1, Department of the Army, Carlisle Barracks.
[134] Frederick McClellan, Sr., Oral History by Milinda D. Jenssen, no date, at United States of America Korean War Commemoration (http://korea50.army.mil/media/interviews/mcclellan.shtml).
[135] Stan Jones to Melinda Pash, 6 May 2004, in the author's possession.

"I don't think there is any difference between white and colored in combat." [136] As Gilbert Pfleger puts it, "Black man shot Chinese who was about to shoot me in back. Need I say more?"[137] Sharing the experience of the battlefield, African Americans and whites formed the same kinds of unbreakable bonds that men of the same color did. They became family. "We were like real brothers."[138] As such, they wrote letters to each other's mothers, stood up for each other when outsiders seemed to be dishing out unfair or unequal treatment, and risked their own lives to protect each other.[139] In perhaps the most famous example of interracial camaraderie during the Korean War, Lt. Thomas J. Hudner, Jr., a white pilot, deliberately crashed his own plane in an effort to rescue Ensign Jesse L. Brown, the first African American to fly a carrier combat mission. Brown died where he had landed, but the men of the *Leyte* did not forget him. They donated $3000 of their own money to a trust to provide Brown's infant daughter Pamela with an education.[140] Such friendships promised a new future not just for the men involved but for the country which sent them together into the furnace of war.

Whether in integrated detachments or not, service in the Korean War Theater provided many African Americans with their first taste of life untainted by Jim Crow laws and customs. Segregation did exist in some places in Japan, but, particularly in Korea, G.I.s of every color

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[136] Robert C. Bjork, Army Service (Korean War) Questionnaire, continuation sheet, 2nd Division, 23rd Regiment, Alphabetical Box 1, Department of the Army, Carlisle Barracks and Lyman Heacock in Bowers, *Black Soldier, White Army*, 218.
[137] Gilbert Charles Pfleger, Army Service (Korean War) Questionnaire, 5, 5th Regimental Combat Team, Department of the Army, Carlisle Barracks.
[138] Donald C. Dingee, Army Service (Korean War) Questionnaire, 5, 3rd Division, Alphabetical Box 1, Department of the Army, Carlisle Barracks. See also Lee Nichols in MacGregor, *Integration of the Armed Forces*, 447 and Icle Davis, *Korean War Veteran Survey*, 6, CFSOKW.
[139] Clentell Jackson remembers a white friend in Korea hitting another white man who was calling Jackson names. Haga, "Legacy of the Korean War," 1B. Similarly, the white men of 1st Lieutenant Joseph Bracy had to be calmed down when they felt that MPs were unfairly picking on black truck drivers. Berebitsky, *A Very Long Weekend*, 254.
[140] Navy News Release, *Dixie Times-Picayune States ROTO Magazine*, 7 December 1952, NA, RG 319, Box 007.

"were free to utilize all public facilities and accommodations."[141] They socialized with white friends, knocking back a few beers, killing time playing poker, or sitting down and shooting "the shit…for three or four hours."[142] At Yokota Air Base, blacks and whites not only flew and worked together, but they frequented the same "O" Clubs and visited socially in one another's homes.[143] In Gifu, Japan blacks readily mixed with a willing local population without arousing racial tensions.[144] With such liberties available to them, blacks "felt freer in a foreign land than in the land of our birth."[145] Some felt so free in fact that they did not want to leave when it came their turn. A few passed up rotation because "we are not sure…that we want to be reassigned to the United States."[146] And, in the exchange of prisoners of war, several black Americans chose to stay with the Chinese, at least until such time as conditions improved for African Americans back home.[147] More often, though, African American troops, like their white counterparts, eagerly returned to the United States, many with a newfound determination to secure changes back home.

After the war, James C. Evans, the Assistant on Racial Matters to the Secretary of the Army, pronounced "The greatest victory we had in Korea was the integrated use of our manpower."[148] Militarily, Evans was right. Desegregation not only deepened the pool of replacements from which battered front line units could draw men, but resulted in "significant

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[141] Banks, "The Korean Conflict," 131.
[142] White Artilleryman in Bogart, *Project Clear*, 97.
[143] Frank Whisonant, "Yokota Air Base Is Perfect Model Of Race Harmony," *Pittsburgh Courier*, 25 September 1950, 2.
[144] At Gifu, however, social segregation did mark life at the base although there was some integration in housing and among dependents below the high school level. Bowers, *Black Soldier, White Army*, 48-50.
[145] Banks, "The Korean Conflict," 131.
[146] GI in Ducksworth, *What Hour of the Night*, 104.
[147] Lewis H. Carlson, *Remembered Prisoners of a Forgotten War: An Oral History of Korean War POWs* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2000), 209-211; "Negro Deserters Blast Segregation in America," *Pittsburgh Courier*, 6 February 1954, 1; and Bill Worthy, "Some POWs Desert 'Land of Jim Crow,'" *Baltimore Afro-American*, 15 August 1953, 1.
[148] "Pentagon Aide Refutes Clark on Negro GIs," *New York Post*, 30 April 1956, 4.

improvements in the performance of Negro soldiers."[149] In integrated units, blacks often had better leadership, more supplies, and the feeling that maybe their service to the United States would result in something more than disappointment when they returned home. As a result they fought better. Also, African American participation proved something of a psychological coup in a war that the enemy would have liked to have cast in racial terms.[150]

Socially, however, Korean War efforts at integration produced a mixed legacy. Certainly, close contact led individuals to develop intimate relationships with people of different skin tones and the memory of wartime interracial friendships translated into a shared willingness to tolerate or even support attempts at achieving racial equality back in the States.[151] Passing through the Dallas, Texas airport on his way back from Korea, Sidney Berry remembers seeing separate water fountains for blacks and whites. Having had a very close African American friend in Korea "that dramatically brought home to me that I was going back to my native South with its goddamned injustice… [and that experience] solidified my resentment of racial injustice."[152] Even if they couldn't support social integration entirely, cracks in the proscriptions against the social mixture of the races could be seen among troops who served in integrated units in Korea. Asked if he would take a black man home, one white enlisted soldier replied that he would not, except for his friend in the tent. "Oh, that's different. He's just like any of the other boys. I'd take him home. I wouldn't think of treating him any different. He's a buddy of mine." Similarly, a white infantryman resisted the idea that he would hang out with blacks back home because "No girl'd go out with me if I hung around with the black boys." But, he clarified that

[149] "Notes on Possible Declassification and Release of ORO Study 'The Utilization of Negro Manpower in the Army,' 'Confidential' (1954)," 3, NA, RG 319, Box 007.
[150] "Negro Troops Rough on Reds," *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, 20 August 1950, 6.
[151] Bostlemann, *The Cold War and the Color Line*, 82-83 and Charles C. Moskos, Jr., "Has the Army Killed Jim Crow?" *Negro History Bulletin* 21 (November 1957), 29.
[152] Berry, Oral History by Caudill, 37.

with regard to his African American friends from Korea, "That's different. I owe them something for sticking with me. They're swell guys and I wouldn't let them down. I'd do anything for them….But even so, maybe, I'd have to be careful."[153]

Despite such shifts in thinking, the camaraderie among men of different races fell far short of a revolution in American race relations. Sometimes men went back to their old ways even before they reached America's shores. One African American remembers how on the ship home he came across a white G.I. whom he had carried injured off the battlefield. When he tried to remind the man of their encounter, the soldier insultingly cut him short, saying "I know who you are boy."[154] When G.I.s returned to Georgia or Mississippi, they found that old habits remained the accepted ones among friends and family who continued to see the world in the same terms as before the war, in black and white. And, returning after a long and emotionally exhausting tour of duty in the war zone, many Americans simply wanted to fit back into their old lives somehow, even if that meant leaving the fight for social justice in America for another time or another generation. The Korean War softened men and women to the notion of racial equality, making them more likely to accept the goals of the coming Civil Rights Movement, but it did not necessarily bring that movement into being.

Long after 1953, military service continued to offer African Americans their best shot at equality. Unlike American society at large, the Armed Forces during and after the war began a steady process of desegregating the various aspects of life, including housing and schools. In the end, that perhaps proved the most enduring legacy of the Korean War era. The rewarding nature of military service encouraged blacks to make the Army, Air Force, Navy, or Marines a career

[153] Peter Karsten, *Soldiers and Society, 212.*
[154] Catherine Clinton, *The Black Soldier: 1492 to the Present* (Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin Company, 2000), 82.

and as they did so their expectations and the expectations of those with whom they worked changed.[155] Accustomed to working together, it became difficult for soldiers of different races or nationalities to envision living in a segregated world. As veterans rejoined the ranks of civilians they brought with them a new vision of what America could and should become.

While integration and the resulting mixture of black and white troops in Korea consumes most of the literature on race, it should be noted that the same sorts of interactions took place between white and black Americans and Hawaiians, Chinese-Americans, Native Americans, Puerto Ricans, South Koreans, Turks, Japanese, and many other peoples throughout the war. And, just as with relations between blacks and whites, sometimes interactions went well and sometimes they did not. For example, American G.I.s generally considered South Korean troops undependable and tended to show little respect for them. They put KATUSA replacements to work carrying heavy loads of ammunition or supplies, doing laundry, polishing boots, or cleaning rifles.[156] This lack of regard sometimes caused problems for anyone who appeared Korean. The American driver of a truck, mistaking Bertram Sebresos for a South Korean, refused to give him a ride until told, "I'm a GI too" and a white soldier tried to make Harrison Lee, a G.I. from Hawaii, do his laundry. Back at his unit after being treated at a battalion aid station where a doctor thought he was a "yobo," an ROK soldier, and made him wait six hours for assistance, two G.I.s assaulted Sergeant Clarence Young, trying to steal his jacket until he fired his M-1 in their direction and the captain set them straight on his status as an American soldier.[157]

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[155] In a 1954 Gallup Poll, 92% of black veterans polled said they were better off for their Army service and found it rewarding. Not surprisingly, blacks increasingly made a career out of military service. Black reenlistment rates by 1965 in the Air Force outnumbered white ones more than two to one. Kindsvatter, *American Soldiers*, 13.
[156] Jay Hidano in Baldovi, *A Foxhole View*, 61 and Blaine Friedlander in Tomedi, *No Bugles, No Drums*, 195-196.
[157] Bertram Sebresos, Harrison Lee, and Clarence Young in Baldovi, *A Foxhole View*, 97, 44-45, 115, and 129.

But, just as white and black men had grown familiar with one another, so too they learned to live amongst people seldom encountered before the war. Those who served with KATUSA units became impressed with the diligence and dedication of ROK soldiers and men in outfits with different nationalities came to look beyond the features of one's skin or face. As Ben Nighthorse Campbell, a Native American senator from Colorado, remarked long after his Korean War service, "There was a camaraderie [in the Air Force] that transcends ethnicity when you serve your country overseas in wartime."[158] In Korea, men learned "to understand people who are different from you….By working and fighting alongside these peoples of different colors, creeds, and backgrounds we are, at the same time I hope, beginning to learn how we may better live with them."[159] Imbued with the ability to generate such feelings in participants, perhaps the Korean War was for all Americans, black or white, male or female, their fight after all.

[158] Ben Nighthorse Campbell in "Native Americans in the Korean War," online at http://www.defenselink.mil/specials/nativeamerican01/korea.html.
[159] Lt. Rolly G. Miller to his mother, quoted by John O. Pastore, *Congressional Record, Appendix*, 82nd Congress, 1st sess., 1951, vol. 97, A5860.

CHAPTER 6: COMING HOME

"We returned from battle, picked up our lives, went back to work, raised our families, and melted into the mainstream of society."—Harold Mulhausen, veteran.[1]

"We melted into society and did our best to get on with our lives. We were a different breed of American fighting man. …We kept our war stories to ourselves unless we were with another veteran, or had a loving wife to comfort us if the memories got too rough."—Rudolph Stephens, veteran.[2]

"After my war/Nobody asked me what I felt—/Regret, mostly."—From a poem by Ronald Landry, veteran."[3]

"On the train from San Francisco to San Diego, I thought, I survived, I'm alive. What more could I want?"—Floyd Baxter, veteran.[4]

When 2nd Lieutenant Edmund Krekorian returned home from Korea, the city of Seattle welcomed him and others aboard the troopship in grand style. Marine Corsairs escorted the ship to the harbor, flying off in victory rolls as a happy chorus of boat horns and whistles joined the shouts of hundreds of people gathered on the pier. There, Miss Seattle waited with a bouquet of flowers to meet the men as a band played "The Star Spangled Banner."[5] Also returning by way of Seattle, Russell Rodda recalls most vividly the beautiful girls in bathing suits sent to greet the returnees. As he walked down the gangplank, one of them hugged and kissed him and thanked him for doing his duty.[6] Treated to "dancing girls, in net stockings and 12-inch skirts," 185 Thunderbirds of the Oklahoma 45th could scarcely turn their attention to the crowds tossing confetti and streamers and shouting "They're home, they're home, they're home!"[7] In San Francisco, Anthony De Angelis enjoyed a similar reception. Tug boats came out to greet the

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[1] Harold L. Mulhausen and James Edwin Alexander, *Korea: Memories of a U. S. Marine* (Oklahoma City, OK: Macedon Publishing Company, 1995), i.
[2] Rudolph W. Stephens, *Old Ugly Hill: A G. I.'s Fourteen Months in the Korean Trenches, 1952-1953* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland and Company, 1995), 11.
[3] Ronald J. Landry in "Chosin House: Poems and Prose," Box FF, Folder A0964, Center for the Study of the Korean War, Graceland University, Independence, Missouri (hereafter CFSOKW).
[4] Floyd Baxter in Donald Knox and Alfred Coppel, *The Korean War: Uncertain Victory, the Concluding Volume of an Oral History* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich, 1988), 356.
[5] Edmund Krekorian in *Ibid.,* 354.
[6] Russell C. Rodda, *Korean War Veteran Survey,* handwritten appendage, CFSOKW.
[7] Wayne Mackey, "45th Veterans Dock in Seattle; Heading for Sill," *Daily Oklahoman,* 14 April 1952, 1.

veterans with water salutes and once they had docked, civilians tossed beer up to the men while WACs boarded to carry their duffle bags off the ship.[8] Greeted in World War II fashion, these men of Korea "felt good for the first time in a year!"[9] "You just can't imagine how excited and how happy, and the tears and the laughter and the, you know, you're home! H-O-M-E, home!"[10]

Unfortunately, as the war in Korea progressed and as troopships brought men and women back with more regularity, the nation's interest soon waned and homecomings became a matter of routine rather than cause for celebration.[11] Most of those who fought and served in the Far East do not remember grandiose displays of gratitude upon reentering the country, but instead passing under the Golden Gate Bridge or pulling into the harbor to find "no bands, no cheering crowds, and no tickertape parade."[12] Like Floyd Baxter, they wondered, "Where are all the people?"[13] Remembering the heroes' welcomes given many World War II veterans, they had expected something more than a few scattered relatives and maybe a Red Cross worker or two on the dock. They were "in for a rude awakening."[14] Stationed on the hospital ship *Haven,* one nurse recalls the excitement of the wounded men on board. Those "who could wear shoes were shining them up to a brightness that dazzled the eyes" in anticipation of impressing the onlookers whom they assumed to be awaiting their arrival. Lined up in stretchers for the landing, they looked eagerly for well-wishers. Sadly, "only a handful of apprehensive relatives and somber

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[8] Anthony B. De Angelis, Army Service (Korean War) Questionnaire, 17, 1st Cavalry Division, Surnames A-L, Department of the Army, U. S. Army Military History Institute, Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania. (Hereafter Carlisle Barracks).
[9] Curtis James Morrow, *What's a Commie Ever Done to Black People? A Korean War Memoir of Fighting in the U.S. Army's Last All Negro Unit* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland and Company, 1977), 84.
[10] Vincent Van Allen, Interview by Colin Pinkham, online at American Century Project, St. Andrews Episcopal School Library Archive (www.doingoralhistory.org).
[11] See Author's note in Knox and Coppel, *The Korean War: Uncertain Victory,* 356.
[12] John A. Sullivan, *Toy Soldiers: Memoir of a Combat Platoon Leader in Korea* (North Carolina: McFarland and Company, 1991), 153. Also H. D. Buelow, typed papers, Box VV, Folder A.1467, CFSOKW and James Putnam, Memoir (Korean War Educator), 35.
[13] Floyd Baxter in Knox and Coppel, *The Korean War: Uncertain Victory,* 356.
[14] *Ibid.*

ambulances" had turned out to see them home after their "many long, pain-ridden months" away.[15] Thousands of others suffered the same disappointment. "When we arrived, after all we had been through, all we had seen, all we had done in the line of duty, we were met only by the Red Cross. They gave us donuts and coffee. And, that was our homecoming."[16]

Whether received warmly or not at all by the country that had shipped them off to war, one relative always awaited returnees as they disembarked—Uncle Sam. Men and women might have completed their tours of duty overseas, but often they still owed the military days or months of service before they could officially muster out of the ranks.[17] In any event, they had to process out before heading home on a thirty day furlough to visit their families and friends.[18] Like in-processing, out-processing required much patience on the part of servicemen and women. Sent by train, bus, or convertible car convoy to places like Treasure Island, Camp Stoneman, and Camp Kilmer, "everyone was forced to stand in long lines." Moving from station to station over three or four days, they received physical examinations, blood and urine tests, "short arm" inspections, and shots and completed all the necessary paperwork.[19] In some places, everything was merely a formality, prompting complaints that "I was just turned loose…I didn't even know how to act around other people" and "The doctors did not give us real examinations. I came home with damage[d] eyes due to a steam explosion and a tremendous ears sound, due to

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[15] Mrs. Lee in Frances Omori, *Quiet Heroes: Navy Nurses of the Korean War, 1950-1953, Far East Command* (St. Paul, MN: Smith House Press, 2000), 135.
[16] Roy T. Gray, "Sniper Duty," 14, Box MMM, Folder A2202, CFSOKW.
[17] Draftees, serving 21 to 24 months active duty entered the Reserves for five or six years and instead of getting a discharge, they got a Certificate of Service and a reservist identification card. Carl Peterson, "Difference," *New York Times*, 23 August 1953, SM4.
[18] Some National Guard troops got a few days home before processing. Officers of the Oklahoma 45th flew to Rogers Field in Oklahoma and had 8 days to report to Ft. Sill where they would either be processed and returned to inactive status or separated (if leaving the military) or receive a 30 day leave before their next duty station (if staying in the military). "No Band, But Happy Families Are Plenty for 45th Arrivals," *Daily Oklahoman*, 15 April 1952, 1.
[19] Jack Right in Knox and Coppel, *The Korean War: Uncertain Victory*, 355 and Seymour Bernstein, *Monsters and Angels: Surviving a Career in Music* (U.S.: Hal Leonard, 2002), 333.

the noise from firing my gun."[20] Bitterly, one POW asserts, "Those Americans interviewing us after we were liberated never seemed to be that interested in our wounds or diseases. They really weren't interested in a damn thing except did we collaborate?"[21]

But, some processors took the job more seriously. Concerned that men who refused to speak about their wartime experiences would end up with mental problems, the staff at Treasure Island pulled "about every twentieth man…out of the line and told [him] to go to the talking doctor." They instructed veterans that "When we got home we should not be afraid to talk. If someone asked us what happened overseas, we should go ahead and tell him."[22] Thomas Shay had to attend classes for two weeks "just to know how to act, how to talk to people … [and] the words to say….They told you how...it's going to be eating supper…how to pass the potatoes [and] how to treat a lady and the words you used."[23] The military made available to men who had been held as prisoners of war booklets like "Welcome Back!" and "What Has Happened Since 1950" to explain their responsibilities upon returning and catch them up on events that they had missed.[24] The services offered little else by way of debriefing or therapy to those just returned from the war zone, instead reminding returnees at the various processing centers that at least for the time being they were still Government Issue. In addition to dealing with red tape and submitting to physical examinations, men and women once again began policing the area,

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[20] Billy Joe Harris in Lewis H. Carlson, *Remembered Prisoners of a Forgotten War: An Oral History of Korean War POWs* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2000), 228 and Fernando Gandara, *Korean War Veteran Survey*, 7, CFSOKW.
[21] Robert Jones in Carlson, *Remembered Prisoners of a Forgotten War*, 213.
[22] Jack Right in Knox and Coppel, *The Korean War: Uncertain Victory*, 355. This is very different from what most POWs were told. They were warned not to talk with civilians about their experiences. See Glenn Reynolds in Lewis H. Carlson, *Remembered Prisoners of a Forgotten War*, 230.
[23] Thomas C. Shay (AFC2001/001/5807), Folder 3, Interview by Kent Fox, 24 February 2003, 7, VHPC, AFC, LOC.
[24] These booklets stressed the need to safeguard military information and not disclose anything to unauthorized persons. Copies of Mark W. Clark, "Welcome Back!" and "What Has Happened Since 1950" can be found at Edwin R. Meyers (AFC2001/001/3394), Folder 3, VHPC, AFC, LOC.

serving on K.P. duty, picking up trash, and even drilling.[25] Finally, though, unless doctors determined that one needed further evaluation at a hospital or rehabilitation center, these new veterans of the Korean War received their discharge or leave, their pay, and a ticket home.[26]

Once released, most returnees felt elated and could not wait to celebrate the end of their war. On their way to the train station or airport, they stopped off at bars and restaurants, ready to treat themselves to a first class meal or cocktail. If they got lucky, some civilian would slap them on the back and say "We're glad you're back" and "Let me buy you a drink." Ordering steak, martinis, ice cream, and whatever else they fancied, veterans lived it up until time to depart for home.[27] A few even continued the festivities along the way. Changing trains in Chicago, Frank Almy and a few pals stopped by a bar where the owner told the servicemen "our money wasn't any good there. We had all we could eat and drink on the house."[28] Men aboard a seven car troop train headed for Ft. Sill began drinking heavily at the outset and then stopped the train en route to purchase more liquor.[29] For a while, excited returnees just wanted to say, "Hey, here I am. Come on America, here I am, ready or not." They didn't "think about the incidentals" that came with being back in the States because "for right now I'm home! ... There is no place like home."[30]

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[25] Bernstein, *Monsters and Angels,* 333-335.
[26] In general returnees got to choose their mode of transportation (bus, train, airplane) back to either their last duty station or the place where they entered service. Frank Almy in Knox and Coppel, *The Korean War: Uncertain Victory,* 356-357 and "Section 12: Mustering Out," U. S. President's Commission on Veterans Pensions (Bradley Commission): Records, 1954-58, A 69-22 and 79-6, Box 61, Dwight David Eisenhower Library, Abilene, Kansas (hereafter Bradley Commission and DDE Library).
[27] Arthur L. Kelly, Interview by Russell Harris, 16 December 1993, 67 (Kentuckiana Digital Library at http://kdl.kyvl.org).
[28] Frank Almy in Knox and Coppel, *The Korean War: Uncertain Victory,* 356-357.
[29] Carl Stevens in William Berebitsky, *A Very Long Weekend: the Army National Guard in Korea, 1950-1953* (Shippensburg, PA: White Mane Publishing Company, 1996), 257.
[30] Van Allen, Interview by Pinkham. The incidental that Van Allen chose not to think about as a black man was segregation.

However, even before reaching one's hometown, jubilance could turn to uncertainty. Very quickly it became apparent just how little thought ordinary Americans had given the war in their absence. At a restaurant near Camp Carson, Colorado, Robert Baken told the waitress he had been in Korea. Bewildered, she asked, "Korea, where's that at?" He realized then that "half the civilians in the United States didn't know [where] Korea was at, and the other half didn't care where it was at."[31] Rotating out of a MASH in Korea, one nurse had reason to recall the words of a friend stationed stateside, "The saddest part of this for you is nobody knows you've been away or where you've been. You'll know that when you get home. Nobody will notice it." Back in the United States she "just went back to duty someplace."[32] Indeed, a surprising number of people seemed completely apathetic not just about the conflict but about those who had done their patriotic duty and served in it. Guards unceremoniously tossed Peter Soderbergh out of the Royal Hawaiian when he tried to see a show after his return and a bartender refused to serve Curtis Morrow when he went for drinks with some white friends. Upon hearing "that the bartender had refused to serve a black Korean War veteran," MPs wrecked the place, but that didn't alter the fact that outside of the military a man's service in Korea counted for little to nothing.[33] As one veteran reflects, "You expect that the people would be more concerned about your service in Korea, but people showed indifference and were more concerned about their own interests."[34] Not surprisingly, a few returnees came to think "that all the true Americans were in

[31] Robert E. Baken (AFC2001/001/1443), Folder 2, Interview by Matthew Baken, 23 November 2001, 16, VHPC, AFC, LOC.
[32] Story found in Catherine "Faye" Neville (AFC2001/001/113), Folder 2, Interview by Helen Roach and Win Wilbur, 25 February 2000, 10, VHPC, AFC, LOC.
[33] Peter A. Soderbergh, *Women Marines in the Korean War Era* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 1994), xxi and Morrow, *What's a Commie Ever Done to Black People*, 85.
[34] Vincent Baron, *Korean War Veteran Survey*, 7, CFSOKW.

the service—that the outside was loaded with draft dodgers … [and] politicians who didn't give a damn about the people."[35]

Recently removed from the war zone, men and women also came to a few unsettling realizations about themselves before reaching their final destinations. While still entering the straits of Seattle, one veteran had a "wave of uncontrolled grief and depression" wash over him and he "felt overwhelming guilt that I had survived."[36] Thinking of Korea, another noted that he had lost his best friend and nearly his life and "I know I lost myself, but no one cares. I am not the same person who left here."[37] Using lots of cusswords in an interview, Jack Wright realized, "My language wasn't the type you spoke around your mom, but I forgot where I was."[38] Jack Davis knew exactly how Wright felt. He was scared "to open my mouth for fear of what foul language might come out." In fact, Davis felt uncomfortable around "polite and civil" people altogether regardless of their age or gender and he made them uncomfortable—a problem that would continue for quite some time.[39] On a plane with other soldiers, Edmund Krekorian felt fine, but once civilians filled the seats around him he suddenly noticed "I had so very little in common with these people whose primary conversation was limited to baseball and the movies. They seemed to know very little about the war and cared less. … I was no longer secure or comfortable. I fell asleep trying to imagine what my wife looked like."[40] Hoping for the best, some veterans took comfort in the knowledge that "I was still myself and when I got home

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[35] Edward H. Pykosz, Army Service (Korean War) Questionnaire, 18, 1st Cavalry Division, Surnames M-Z, Carlisle Barracks.
[36] Edmund Krekorian in Knox and Coppel, *The Korean War: Uncertain Victory*, 354.
[37] Paul Edwards in Janell Coppage, "Four Men: Stories of the War They Can Not Forget, unpublished history paper, 3-4, Box EE, CFSOKW.
[38] Jack Wright in Knox and Coppel, *The Korean War: Uncertain Victory*, 355.
[39] Clarence Jackson "Jack" Davis (AFC2001/001/1644), Folder 1, unpublished book of letters and postscript by author, 179, VHPC, AFC, LOC.
[40] Edmund Krekorian in Knox and Coppel, *The Korean War: Uncertain Victory*, 358-359.

would fall back into patterns of behavior, maybe even be civilized again. War changed you but you remained the same person."[41] Less sure, others wondered about their lives and thought, "I survived, I'm alive. What more could I want?"[42] Only time would tell.

Home

Returning to their home towns from the war zone, many service members, especially servicemen, would have agreed with Dorothy in *The Wizard of Oz* that "There's no place like home." Small towns in particular warmly welcomed their native sons and daughters. Even if they did not host parades for the veterans, who often trickled home one or two at a time, there might be welcome home dinners, invitations to speak at the local high school, press coverage, an honorary police escort from the airport, the presentation of the key to the city by the mayor, or something more tangible like a state bonus to mark their completion of duty.[43] Some, like Thomas Gaylets of Old Forge, Pennsylvania, relished the attention. "It was a great feeling to be

[41] James Brady, *The Coldest War: A Memoir of Korea* (New York: Orion Books, 1990), 240.
[42] Floyd Baxter in Knox and Coppel, *The Korean War: Uncertain Victory*, 356.
[43] Berebitsky, *A Very Long Weekend*, 256; "A Small Town Honors Its Veterans," *New York Times Magazine*, 11 October 1953, 8-9; Walter G. Adelman in Harry Spiller, ed., *American POWs in Korea: Sixteen Personal Accounts* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Company, 1998), 37; and Charles Ehredt, Army Service (Korean War) Questionnaire, 17, 1st Cavalry Division, Surnames A-L, Carlisle Barracks. Several states, including Connecticut, Washington, Delaware, Indiana, Louisiana, Massachusetts, Michigan, New Hampshire, Alaska, South Dakota, Vermont, and Minnesota paid veterans, male and female, a bonus for having served in the military during the Korean War. Harry Matthews to Melinda Pash, 11 October 2005, in author's possession; Patricia Sherman, *Korean War Veteran Survey*, 7, CFSOKW; Jim Cleary, "The Gulf War Veterans' Bonus: A Proposed Minnesota Constitutional Amendment," 9, online at www.house.leg.state.mn.us/hrd/pubs/cavetbon.pdf; Don Eastvold, "State Veterans' Bonus," online at http://www.atg.wa.gov/opinion.aspx?section=archive&id=10526; Delaware Veteran's Military Pay Commission, "Paid Korean War Bonus Claims," online at http://archives.delaware.gov/collections/guide/1400S/1470-000-010.shtml; and Congress, House, President's Commission on Veterans' Benefits in the United States, *State Veteran's Laws: Digests of State Laws and Related Statistical Data Regarding Rights, Benefits, and Privileges of Veterans, Their Dependents, and Their Organizations*,2-13, 84th congress, 2nd sess., 16 May 1956, House Committee Print 246. See also "Rockefeller Bars Korea War Bonus," *New York Times*, 21 February 1962, 1 and "West Virginia Adopts Plan to Finance Korean Vets' $18 Million Issue," *Wall Street Journal*, 7 August 1957, 16.,

home."[44] Others felt uncomfortable with all the fuss. Having seen too many comrades die and too much misery, men who had served in combat often did not feel like conquering heroes and POWs most assuredly felt out of place around hometown folk.[45] "For the first time I was someone else other than an EX POW or someone else from the military."[46] In such circumstances, how was one supposed to act? A few men simply fled when friends or neighbors stopped by to see them or made it known that they did not want any big to-dos to be given in their honor.[47]

In many places, though, especially larger communities and metropolitan areas, returnees did not have to worry about unwanted attention. "It was kind of like glad you're home. That was it. … I felt lonely."[48] All too often nobody other than wives or parents had even taken note of their departures. As Harlee Lassiter puts it, "No one else seemed to have missed me very much."[49] Seeing them again on the street or at the store, old acquaintances asked, "Where've you been? I haven't seen you around."[50] And, girlfriends quite plainly had moved on, getting engaged or even married. Finding his old flame Elaine now married and pregnant, Barnett Wilson concluded, "Not only didn't she want to wait for me, she didn't miss me, either!"[51] The same could be said of some spouses. As contemporary newspaper accounts reveal, more than a

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[44] Thomas B. Gaylets in Spiller, ed., *American POWs in Korea*, 23.
[45] POWs especially did not feel heroic. One writes, "People were calling me a hero and I really wanted to be one but I was not." Email Shorty Estabrook to Melinda Pash, 29 July 2004, in author's possession.
[46] William M. Allen, *My Old Box of Memories: Thoughts of the Korean War* (Self-Published, c. 1999), 87.
[47] *Ibid*., 88; Jack Wright in Knox and Coppel, *The Korean War: Uncertain Victory*, 359; and Email Shorty Estabrook to Melinda Pash, 5 August 2004, in author's possession.
[48] Ralph Cutro, *Korean War Veteran Survey*, 7, CFSOKW. Korean War homecomings proved harbingers of the homecomings received by veterans of the Vietnam War. See Drummond Ayres, Jr., "The Vietnam Veteran: Silent, Perplexed, Unnoticed," *New York Times*, 8 November 1970, 1.
[49] Harlee W. Lassiter, *Korean War Veteran Survey*, attachment page, CFSOKW.
[50] Charles Rice in Berebitsky, *A Very Long Weekend*, 256. Also Thomas C. Shay (AFC2001/001/5807), Folder 3, Interview by Kent Fox, 24 February 2003, 7, VHPC, AFC, LOC and Bernstein, *Monsters and Angels*, 338.
[51] Barnett R. Wilson (AFC2001/001/2783), Folder 1, *A Korean Cruise—Moments of Life, Love, and War*, unpublished memoir dated 1981, 160, VHPC, AFC, LOC. Also, Richared E. Merrill, *Korean War Veteran Survey*, 7, CFSOKW.

few men discovered that in their absence wives had sought comfort elsewhere.[52] Believing their husbands dead, the wives of some POWs had even remarried, creating a sticky and unpleasant situation for men who had spent their captivity dreaming of nothing but home. Daniel Schmidt's wife, now married to Alfred Fine, suggested through a magazine reporter that Schmidt and Fine should both woo her again so she could decide between them. Astonishingly, she also insisted that Schmidt was lucky since "It's better to come home and find your wife happily married than running around with everybody."[53] Although perhaps more rare than instances of marital infidelity, some veterans found relatives little interested in their return. Floyd Baxter's brother briefly met him at the train station but then quickly announced that he and his girlfriend had "some place else to go." Baxter reflected "that things would never be the same again."[54] Even if they had not desired parades or parties, this was hardly the homecoming that most veterans expected or wanted.

Except in a few cases, such as Baxter's, those returning from the war at least could count on members of their immediate family to provide some measure of reassurance that they had not been forgotten completely. Mothers, fathers, wives, sons, daughters, sisters, and brothers all turned out at train and bus depots to lovingly greet their own. Met at the station in Springfield by his wife and kids, Arthur Kelly decided, "That's all I needed. I didn't need anybody else."[55] Once home, the signs that they had been missed proved unmistakable. Walking past all the neighbors lined up on their front porches to stare and smile at him, former POW William Allen finally reached his house, finding it almost unchanged. His mother had kept his room exactly as

[52] Some of these cases led to incidents of violence. See "Free GI's Wife in Slaying of Married Lover," *Pittsburgh Courier,* 14 February 1953, 1 and "Veteran Kills Wife's Lover," *Pittsburgh Courier,* 7 March 1953, 1.
[53] "No Bands Playing," *Newsweek* 46:7 (15 August 1955), 21.
[54] Floyd Baxter in Knox and Coppel, *The Korean War: Uncertain Victory,* 357.
[55] Kelly, Interview by Harris, 16 December 1993, 69.

he left it. She also went to great lengths to make all of his favorite meals and, along with his father, worked hard to not "say something wrong."[56] Jack Wright's stepfather offered him unlimited use of the family's new Studebaker, saying nothing though Wright nearly tore it apart.[57] Numerous wives, having kept the faith for almost two years, cried real tears of joy upon seeing their husbands again for the first time and did everything in their power to provide solace and warmth.

Although most family members tried hard to make their husbands or sons and daughters feel comfortable at home again, it quickly became apparent to almost everyone that adjustments needed to be made. At first, fathers and mothers had difficulty accepting that the men before them could no longer be viewed or treated as "their 'high school boys' who left home" and that created problems.[58] Though their children might still appear young, their experiences had made them no longer youthful. With his mind "drift[ing] back to my buddies still in Korea," one veteran "broke down and cried," angrily rejecting his mother's attempts at comfort by saying, "No! You, or anyone else who was not there, can never understand what it was like."[59]

Married just before soldiers shipped out for training or the war zone, some wives had to learn to handle the problems and moodiness of unfamiliar husbands, uncertain whether this was the man they married or the man the war made. Such was the case of one wife who expressed horror when her soldier-husband used a new gun to kill a porcupine without reason. Unable to feel guilt, he asked her, "What in the hell did you think I was doing for the last nine months?" The incident marked the beginning of failure for the marriage.[60] Relations could also be strained

[56] Allen, *My Old Box of Memories*, 87-88.
[57] Jack Wright in Knox and Coppel, *The Korean War: Uncertain Victory*, 359.
[58] Harvey J. Tompkins, "Korean Veterans with Psychiatric Disabilities," *Military Medicine* 117:1 (July 1955), 35.
[59] Floyd Baxter in Knox and Coppel, *The Korean War: Uncertain Victory*, 357.
[60] Edmund Krekorian in Knox and Coppel, *The Korean War: Uncertain Victory*, 363.

between husbands and wives who had been married longer. When John Pitre came home, he noticed, "Life at home had changed. My wife was different."[61] Like couples who hardly knew each other at all before a soldier's deployment, they had to find ways to reconnect after months or years of separation.[62] Regrettably, many couples failed to piece their marriages back together, eventually divorcing. Not able to deal with the guilt he felt about "the killings that I did during the Korean War" or communicate with his family, Tony Velasquez endured a "tragic divorce from my loving wife."[63] Korean War veterans, in fact, divorced at about twice the rate of men who served in World War II and were 26% more likely to divorce than men of their generation who didn't serve at all.[64] Some, like Gilbert Towner, a Marine who saw heavy combat in Korea, divorced more than once, finding marital bliss only decades after the war or not at all.[65]

Men might have envisioned coming home and picking up their lives right where they had left off, but that was seldom possible. Women, so recently expected to take care of the home and make all the important decisions, found it difficult to relinquish control to a returning spouse.[66]

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[61] John M. Pitre, *Korean War Veteran Survey*, 7, CFSOKW.

[62] Many veteran accounts mention marriage on the eve of one's departure for training or the war. See Jessica Weiss, *To Have and to Hold: Marriage, the Baby Boom, and Social Change* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000), 22.

[63] Tony Velasquez to Paul Edwards, 1 May 2002, Box AAA, CFSOKW.

[64] Paul Foy, "Combat Can Kill Marriages, Study Finds," *The Associated Press News Service* (online at http://infoweb.newsbank.com), 19 December 2002. According to the study, Vietnam veterans divorced at no higher rate than others of their generation. Studies of Vietnam War POWs indicate that POWs in general tend to divorce at a higher rate than other veterans. Data from the 1970s revealed that by their third year home 32% of Vietnam War POWs had divorced compared to about 11% of a control group. Edna J. Hunter, "Treating the Military Captives' Family" in Florence W. Kaslow and Richard I. Ridenour, eds., *The Military Family: Dynamics and Treatment* (New York: The Guilford Press, 1984), 191-192. Combat veterans interviewed in 1970 (including but exclusively Korean War veterans) had an exceedingly high divorce rate. Only 43% were still married to their original wife. Glenn H. Elder, Jr. and Elizabeth Clipp, "Wartime Losses and Social Bonding: Influences Across 40 Years in Men's Lives," *Psychiatry* 51:2 (May 1988), 191. Also William Ruger, Sven E. Wilson, and Shawn L. Waddoups, "Warfare and Welfare: Military Service, Combat, and Marital Dissolution," *Armed Forces and Society* 29:1 (Fall 2002), 85-107. For more on divorces after World War II, see William M. Tuttle, Jr., *"Daddy's Gone to War:" The Second World War in the Lives of America's Children* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), 220.

[65] Gilbert Towner, *Korean War Veteran Survey*, 6, CFSOKW. Towner divorced twice then married "a traditional Indian lady" in 1978, a marriage which stuck.

[66] See Kelly, Interview by Harris, 16 December 1993, 69 and Bussey, *Firefight at Yechon*, 259.

They enjoyed managing the money, setting the rules, and doing as they pleased. Even wives who wished for a return to the way things had been before the war could not always make that happen. This proved especially true with regard to the care and discipline of children. For a wife, two years was not a short while, but to children it was an eternity and many initially refused to accept their fathers. Arthur Kelly's three year old daughter ran and jumped into his arms almost immediately, but his son ran halfway down the sidewalk toward him and then doubled back to the house. Later, after having been chided by his father for flipping soup out onto the table, Kelly's son slammed the door in his face saying, "I told you to go back to Korea."[67] Only eight months old when her father left, Charles Bussey's two year old daughter "didn't know me" when he came back, referring to him as "that man."[68] Frightened of the father she hadn't seen since she was six weeks old, Lee Philmon's two year old daughter didn't stop crying until he bought her a Coke.[69] Before men could reestablish their position within the family, they would have to mend relationships with spouses or children that barely knew them or with aging parents, a daunting task requiring a more subtle and patient approach than some of those who had survived the war zone could muster.[70]

Regardless, even if home no longer felt quite like home anymore, most men and women returning from the war theater tried to make the best of things and get on with their lives. As after World War II, many got married almost immediately. Ronald Ransom didn't even wait for

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[67] Kelly, Interview by Harris, 16 December 1993, 69.
[68] Charles M. Bussey, *Firefight at Yechon: Courage and Racism in the Korean War* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2002), 259.
[69] Lee B. Philmon in Linda Granfield, *I Remember Korea: Veterans Tell Their Stories of the Korean War, 1950-1953* (New York: Clarion Books, 2003), 111.
[70] Veterans of World War II also often felt out of place when returning home. See Robert J. Havighurst, Walter H. Eaton, John W. Baughman, and Ernest W. Burgess, *The American Veteran Back Home: A Study of Veteran Readjustment* (New York: Longmans, Green and Company, 1951), 23. Problems in dealing with children or spouses upon return were not peculiar to veterans of the Korean War. World War II soldiers also had difficulty fitting back into the lives of those they had left behind. See Tuttle, *"Daddy's Gone to War,"* 215-223.

his 30-day leave to end before tying the knot and James Becker got hitched just two months after his return. Harvey Moore, carried home from the war with only one leg, went A.W.O.L. from Walter Reed Hospital to wed the 16-year old sister of his overseas service buddy in Camden, New Jersey.[71] Others worked on starting or enlarging their families. In addition to accomplishing this in the old-fashioned way, a few remembered promises made in Korea or Japan and adopted orphaned children that they had known and grown fond of there.[72]

Buying their way into the consumerism of the 1950s, returnees also made major purchases after their return. Younger than the veterans who marched home from the Second World War, and perhaps not yet ready to commit to anything as significant as a spouse, a multitude of Korean War veterans spent savings and back pay on new cars to drive them through bachelorhood or readjustment. And, thanks to the 1952 Veterans' Readjustment Act which guaranteed loans to veterans for real estate, about one third of Korean War era veterans had somewhere to park their wheels as they purchased their first home before program benefits expired in the 1960s.[73] Others used the funds to buy businesses or farms. Like many government programs, this one was laden with red tape and G.I.s complained of the difficulty of

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[71] Ronald Ransom in Berebitsky, *A Very Long Weekend,* 257; James C. Becker, *Korean War Veteran Survey,* 7, CFSOKW; and "Wounded Veteran Weds," *New York Times,* 15 June 1951, 20.

[72] "Korean War Orphan Adopted by Captain," *Pittsburgh Courier,* 14 February 1953, 1 and "Korean Tot's Dad Remains On Stateside," *Pittsburgh Courier,* 21 February 1953, 5. Concerned about the plight of war orphans fathered by American servicemen, both the public and various legislators agitated to make it easier for children to be brought from Japan or Korea to adoptive families in the U.S. Senator Richard L. Neuberger of Oregon, "Amendment of Refugee Relief Act of 1953," *Congressional Record* (Senate), 84th Congress, 2nd sess., volume 102, part 6 (27 April 1956-21 May 1956), 7247-7249; Senator Wayne L. Morse of Oregon, "Increase in Number of Visas to be Issued to Orphans Under the Refugee Relief Act of 1953," *Congressional Record* (Senate), 84th Congress, 2nd sess., volume 102, part 11 (25 July 1956-27 July 1956), 14741-14743; and "Urge Adoption of Korean Babes," *Pittsburgh Courier,* 19 March 1955, 2. Not all men acted on their instinct to try and get Korean children to the United States.

[73] Some 34.1% of veterans of only the Korean Conflict bought their first homes with V.H.A. loans. This is probably a low estimate for total Korean War veterans though as 52.8% of those who served in both Korean and Vietnam and 44.9% of those who served in both Korea and World War II used V.H.A. funding to buy their first homes. "National Survey of Veterans, 1979," 209, NA, RG 015, Box 1.

finding willing lenders and of the loan origination and other fees attached once they did.[74] Black veterans in particular had difficulty getting loans, being refused "for the most irrelevant reasons," such as speaking "to the wrong individual."[75] African Americans found it difficult to find places to buy as well. Neighborhoods geared toward G.I. Bill customers, such as those built by the Levitts, often enforced segregation.[76] For those who managed to obtain loans, the government financed 60% of a home up to $7500 and 50% of a business up to $2000 and sometimes offered incentives.[77] Before September 1, 1953, veterans could qualify for a gratuity payment of 4% of the guaranteed portion of their loan up to $160.[78] As after World War II, the housing market took off once Korean War veterans returned and started snatching up real estate.[79] In some places, lenders and sellers even "newly discovered" a "Negro market."[80]

Ultimately, as back and mustering-out pay ran out returnees had to look for a way to support themselves. Some clever G.I.s turned their wartime skills or contacts into careers. Robert Wilkins, a salesman at Hanson Chevrolet in Detroit before Korea, took down the names and addresses of other POWs while in captivity and after his release sent out letters offering them a $300 "Wilkins Discount." With 500 replies and 21 sales in just a few months, Wilkins

[74] David Stewart, "When a GI Buy$ Hi$ Dream Hou$e," *American Mercury* 89 (October 1959), 103-105.
[75] Mickey Levine, "Report on Negro Veterans in the South," 15 March 1956, 1-4, Central Files, General File, GF 124-A-1, Box 912, DDE Library. In the South, a much smaller percent of black veterans (4.2) than white veterans (14.3) held mortgages because of the constraints put on them. In many places, African Americans had to come up with a larger cash downpayment (15% as opposed to 3%).
[76] "Another Levittown!," *Pittsburgh Courier*, 5 February 1955, 6.
[77] "We've Been Asked: About Benefits for New GI's," *U.S. News and World Report* (July 1952), 82-83.
[78] "GI Loan Gratuity to be Suspended," *Baltimore Afro-American*, 29 August 1953, 13.
[79] "Home Building Shift in New Jersey Seen," *New York Times*, 14 September 1952, R13 and "Korean Veterans Seek Homes," *Special to the New York Times*, 16 September 1951, 3. On a related note, see Walther H. Sterns "Korean Veterans In Mortgage Lead," *Special to the New York Times*, 10 November 1959, 80.
[80] "'Negro' Market is Newly Discovered," *Pittsburgh Courier*, 29 January 1955, 2. In Memphis, Tennessee, a claims service opened to help African Americans with claims for things such as pensions, disability compensation, G.I. loans, and government employment. "New Memphis Claims Service Helps Solve Vets' Problems," *Pittsburgh Courier*, 8 June 1957, 4.

"did not have to worry about getting his old job back."[81] But, other veterans had less ingenuity or maybe less luck. With jobs in rather short supply, they had to turn to benevolent organizations or to their Uncle Sam for help. Groups like "The 52 Association," first formed during World War II, targeted wounded veterans for assistance, offering hand-holding in addition to a job placement program.[82] Meanwhile, the government resurrected such staples as job reinstatement and veterans' preference.

Reemployment rights, begun with the 1940 Selective Service Act and revived in 1951, dictated that employers give returning veterans their old jobs back so long as circumstances had not changed to make that impossible.[83] To be entitled to their former positions, though, veterans, both male and female, had to apply for reinstatement within 90 days of their discharge and have a certificate of satisfactory military service. And, employers were under no obligation to pay returnees any more after their return than they had been receiving when they left. Like Samuel Woodham and Barnett Wilson, veterans did go back to their former employers, sometimes pushing for raises or better positions. But, regardless of the law, others discovered that old bosses would not rehire them or simply decided that they wanted to do something else.[84] These would have to look for work elsewhere.

In addition to using the Veteran's Employment Service (USES) to obtain job counseling, vocational guidance, and assistance in locating a suitable position, those returning from Korea

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[81] "Selling: After Sex, What?," *Time Magazine* 62 (2 November 1953), 95.
[82] Herbert Mitgang, "A Pledge of Rememberance," *New York Times,* 17 December 1950, SM13.
[83] *Congress and the Nation, 1945-1964,* 1364.
[84] "We've Been Asked: About Job Rights of GI's," *U. S. News and World Report* 31 (20 July 1951), 46; Samuel R. Woodham (AFC2001/001/1595), Folder 3, Interview by Brian Woodham, 23 March 2002, 25, VHPC, AFC, LOC; and Barnett R. Wilson (AFC2001/001/2783), Folder 1, *A Korean Cruise—Magic Moments of Life, Love and War,* unpublished memoir dated 1981, 200, VHPC, AFC, LOC. There were instances of resistance to the rehiring of veterans. In Terre Haute, Indiana, coal miners refused to work after a Korean veteran was hired. See "250 Miners Stay Out," *New York Times,* 25 August 1953, 22. See also Harold L. Mulhausen, *Korean War Veteran Survey,* 6-7, CFSOKW.

could invoke veterans' preference laws to better their chances of finding employment.[85] Under veterans' preference laws, honorably discharged veterans who served active duty with any branch of the Armed Forces got points added onto federal competitive exam scores, moved to the top of certification lists, had preference in appointment to federal government and civilian positions, received waivers of age/height/weight requirements, had certain jobs like elevator operator reserved for them, and secured retention rights protecting them from reductions in the work force.[86] No small amount of public resentment and resistance developed in response to veterans' preference laws in the years after the Korean War, but the courts consistently upheld the statutes, giving Korean War veterans the same veterans' preference benefits enjoyed by other veterans before them.[87]

Of course, even with assistance, not all veterans of the Korean War could land a desirable job or, in some cases, any job. As in World War II, these less fortunate veterans qualified for unemployment if they could not find work after separating from the military. Less generous than World War II's 52-20 Club (fifty-two weeks of $20 unemployment checks), the Korean War unemployment program allowed unemployed veterans $26 a week for 26 weeks.[88] Also in contrast to World War II provisions, men first collected unemployment from their home state and then applied for federal unemployment compensation to make up any differences in

[85] "The New GI Bill: Who Gets What?," *Changing Times* (May 1953), 21-22.
[86] U. S. Office of Personnel Management, "VetGuide Appendix D: A Brief History of Veterans Preference," online at www.opm.gov/veterans/html/vghist.asp and *Congress and theNation, 1945-1964*, 1369.
[87] John David Skrentny, *The Ironies of Affirmative Action: Politics, Culture, and Justice in America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996), 47. For examples of public dissatisfaction, see "Should Veterans Enjoy Job Preference for Life?," *Saturday Evening Post* 225 (30 May 1953), 10 and Stanley M. Rumbough, Jr. to Charles F. Willis, 23 April 1953, Central Files, Official File, OF152-H, Box 819, DDE Library.
[88] As with several of the benefit programs designed to help returning Korean War veterans, this was not available to female veterans who had married since coming home or to veterans with dishonorable discharges. Federal unemployment compensation came to Korean War veterans with the passage of Public Law 550, or the Korean G.I. Bill.

benefits.[89] Although Korean War veterans usually had a waiting period of several months before they could collect, the money, when it finally came, certainly made a huge difference to the 20% unable to find a position in the slowing economy.[90] In all, about one million veterans of Korea took advantage of the unemployment offered them, but, according to government reports, they did not "milk" the system.[91] Over half of the Korean War veterans getting unemployment received no more than $300 total and only 15% collected $600 or more.[92]

Whether actively seeking work or not, some veterans ultimately decided to delay their reentry into the civilian work force for a while. Many, especially after the passage of the Korean G.I. Bill in 1952, marched back to school to earn a degree or learn a new trade.[93] Many others,

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[89] Regulations forbade those seeking unemployment from collecting from more than one state and federal benefits ended after payments reached $676. *Public Law 550*, Title IV, Section 408, 82nd Congress, 2nd sess., *United States Statutes at Large* (Washington, D.C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1953), 687-688 and Congress, House, President's Commission on Veterans' Pensions, *Readjustment Benefits: General Survey and Appraisal: A Report on Veterans' Benefits in the United States*, 156-157, 84th Congress, 2nd sess., Committee Print 289, Staff Report No. IX Part A, 11 September 1956 (Washington, D.C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1956).

[90] The waiting period was created because the government expected veterans to live off of their mustering out pay until they could find employment. "The New GI Bill: Who Gets What?," *Changing Times* (May 1953), 22; "Readjustment Pay or Bonus" in "Defense Department on Effect of GI Bill," 12, (Bradley Commission): Records 1954-1958, A69-22 and 79-6, Box 67, DDE Library; and Congress, House, Committee on Veterans Affairs, *The Historical Development of Veterans' Benefits in the United States*, report prepared by the President's Commission on Veterans' Pensions, 160, 84th Congress, 2nd sess., House Committee Print 244, Staff Report No. 1, 9 May 1956 (Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1956). Korean War veterans had a higher rate of unemployment (20.3%) than World War II veterans (17.1%) had after that war, but they had an easier time holding onto the jobs they got. Once employed, only 18.9% of Korean War veterans versus 29.9% of World War II veterans subsequently lost their jobs. Harvey J. Tompkins, "Korean Veterans with Psychiatric Disabilities," *Military Medicine* 17:1 (July 1955), 36.

[91] The one million who received unemployment figures out to be about 25% of the Korean War veterans returned to civilian life. Congress, House, Committee on Veterans Affairs, *The Historical Development of Veterans' Benefits in the United States*, report prepared by the President's Commission on Veterans' Pensions, 160, 84th Congress, 2nd sess., House Committee Print 244, Staff Report No. 1, 9 May 1956 (Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1956). In their first year home, 17.8% of Korean War veterans used unemployment benefits as compared to 37.5% of World War II veterans. As in World War II, younger veterans more readily used unemployment benefits after their Korean service than older veterans. Congress, House, President's Commission on Veterans' Pensions, *Readjustment Benefits: General Survey and Appraisal: A Report on Veterans' Benefits in the United States*, 82, 84th Congress, 2nd sess., Committee Print 289, Staff Report No. IX Part A, 11 September 1956 (Washington, D.C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1956).

[92] Congress, House, Committee on Veterans Affairs, "Limitation on Application for Unemployment Compensation," report prepared by Congressman Olin E. Teague of Texas, 84th Congress, 1st sess., *House Reports, Volume 3: Miscellaneous Reports on Public Bills, II* (Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1955).

[93] See discussion of G. I. Bill below.

despite the low esteem in which the public held military service as a career, decided to re-up or enlist in a different branch of the Armed Forces.[94] As Shorty Estabrook puts it, "I didn't have much else going for me."[95] Compared with veterans of other American wars in the 20th Century, those returning from Korea were most likely to choose a military career. Perhaps because so many already had accumulated years of service from World War II or from time spent in the Reserves or National Guard, they decided after Korea to sign up for regular duty and "never looked back and never gave it a second thought."[96] While only 5.9% of World War II veterans and 12.3% of Vietnam veterans were discharged with a military retirement after twenty or more years of service, 16.7% of Korean War veterans earned this manner of separation.[97] This is all the more remarkable given that in the years after Korea and before the build-up in Vietnam the Army began to muster out "marginal soldiers," flushing 100,000s of men from the ranks, Korean War veterans included.[98] In the clean up, men like Major John Walker, an African American ex-

[94] For an example, see "Ex-POW Joins U.S. Air Forces," *Pittsburgh Courier*, 16 January 1954, 3. In a public opinion survey conducted in 1955, Americans ranked military officer lower in prestige than public school teacher. Career enlisted ranked 16th out of 19 professions, coming in above only barber, sales clerk, and truck driver. When further questioned, 12% of those polled suggested that most men who elected to settle for a career as an officer did so because they were "either unwilling or unable to make a civilian living." 28% had the same opinion of enlisted men. Public Opinion Surveys, Inc., "Attitudes of Adult Civilians Toward the Military Service as a Career," *Part I of a Study for the Office of Armed Forces Information and Education, Department of Defense* (Princeton, NJ: Public Opinion Surveys, Inc., 1955), 2 and 4.

[95] Email Shorty Estabrook to Melinda Pash, 29 July 2004, in author's possession.

[96] Kelly, Interview by Harris, 16 December 1993, 62.

[97] "1987 Survey of Veterans (conducted for the Department of Veterans Affairs by the U. S. Bureau of the Census) (July 1989)," 9 and 17, NA, RG 015, Box 1. It is interesting to note that service members with no service before the Korean War stayed in for 20+ years at a rate slightly elevated above that of those who served only in World War II, .4% compared to .2%. The rates go up dramatically for men serving in more than one war. For instance, 30% of veterans who served in both World War II and Korea retired with 20+ years, as did 86.9% who served in World War II, Korea, and Vietnam and 84.2% who served in Korea and Vietnam. "National Survey of Veterans, 1979," 149-150, NA, RG 015, Box 1.

[98] "Our Saddest Sacks," *Newsweek* 51:21 (26 May 1958), 28. After the Korean War, the military did begin studying ways to improve retention among career personnel, laying the foundation for things like health care for dependents and base housing. Sondra Albano, "Military Recognition of Family Concerns: Revolutionary War to 1993," *Armed Forces and Society* 20:2 (Winter 1994), 283.

Korean War POW with only six years left before an Army retirement, found themselves out on the streets at the behest of a Department of Army Board.[99]

Over time, as veterans discharged the last of their wartime obligations, such as visiting the relatives of dead comrades or working off the last days of active duty, they tried to settle into their new cars, houses, marriages, and jobs. Many hoped that memories of not only the war but of military service in general would soon recede, replaced in their minds with the normalcy of Sunday sermons, weekend matinees, regular work schedules, clean linens, and family. But, looking around them, veterans, especially those who separated from the military, could not help but sense that maybe they hadn't so much left Oz as ended up in some other corner of it. Two years or more of military service had carried men and women further from home than they had ever traveled before and worked to change their outlook on a great many things. In their absence, the world kept turning, too, but somehow it had revolved in different directions.

Returnees, Race, and America

By the time Korean War-era service members began filtering back into civilian life, the American military had truly become a world all its own. Manpower pressures in Korea finally breathed life into Harry S Truman's Executive Order 9981, breaking down segregation if not eliminating it in the various branches of the Armed Forces. Along with increased integration in the field came changes on bases around the country. Under President Eisenhower, the

[99] Walker was dumped for low performance ratings based on observations that he "lacks aggressiveness." Val Washington of the Republican National Committee and George Ives, assistant to Senator Irving Ives, appealed to the White House on Walker's behalf, but without any apparent satisfaction. Letter Val J. Washington to Thomas E. Stephens, 8 March 1954; George S. Ives to Charles F. Willis, Jr., 17 March 1954; and Paul T. Carroll to Val J. Washington, 25 March 1954, Central Files, General File, GF 12-C 1954S, Box 241, DDE Library.

Department of Defense carried forward an initiative to integrate schools on military installations, some before the 1954 Supreme Court ruling in Brown v. the Board of Education.[100] Despite local resistance, especially in Southern schools with long-term leases and in states with laws forbidding educational integration, by August 1955 only schools at Pine Bluff Army Arsenal in Arkansas, where there were no school-aged black children, and Fort Meade, Maryland had not complied.[101] Also in the mid-1950s, the V. A. eliminated segregation in all of its hospitals and homes.[102] As returning African American veterans rotated back from the war to find that they would have to wait for a hospital bed, they and the black press wanted to know, "What excuse is there for penalizing the sick while integrating the well?" In response, Harvey Higley, the Veterans' Administrator, announced the move of his agency toward "wiping out segregation."[103] So quickly did veterans' hospitals accomplish this task that in 1956 one white patient complained that he "was denied treatment for a serious stomach disorder by the Shreveport Veterans Hospital unless he agreed to submit to integration with Negro patients." The incident triggered a resolution by the American Legion Red River Post No. 118 against this infringement of the

[100] Over the objections of Olveta Culp Hobby of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Defense Secretary Charles E. Wilson ordered the military to end segregation in schools on post by September 1, 1955. Lee Nichols, "Night Lead Segregation," 31 January 1954, clipping, NA, RG 319, Box 007 and "Jim Crow in GI Schools Will End in Sept. 1955," *Pittsburgh Courier,* 13 February 1954, 5. Some authors point out that military desegregation paved the way for the Brown v. the Board of Education decision by showing that an integrated society could work. For an example see Gerald Early in "Legacy of the Korean War: Blending of Black and White," *Minneapolis Star-Tribune,* Metro Edition, 7 July 2001, 1B. The Department of Defense also forbade the construction of any new schools to be operated on a segregated basis. C. E. Wilson, Memo for the Secretary of Army/Navy/Air Force for Dependents of Military and Civilian Personnel," 12 January 1954, NA, RG 319, Box 8.
[101] "Military Ending Pupil Color Line," *New York Times,* 21 August 1955, clipping attached to Carter L. Burgess, Memorandum for the Secretary of Defense (and others), "Status of Racial Integration in Schools on Military Installations for Dependents of Military and Civilian Personnel," 25 August 1955, Robert B. Anderson Papers, 1933-89, Navy-Defense, Special Problems M-N, Box 26, DDE Library. In general integration of base schools worked well, perhaps in part because the numbers of African Americans remained quite small and perhaps because those involved were used to accepting what the military told them to do. Department of Defense Office of Public Information, Memo for Mr. Burgess from C. Herschel Schooley, 10 November 1955, NA, RG 319, Box 007.
[102] Letters between President Eisenhower and Harvey Higley released by Press Secretary James C. Hagerty, 26 October 1954, Files of Administrative Officer—Special Projects (Morrow), Inter-racial Affairs 1956-1954, Box 11, DDE Library.
[103] "The Vet's Hospital Scandal," *Pittsburgh Courier,* 3 October 1953, 6.

"cherished rights of those who were disabled in the service of their country," but to no avail.[104] As for life on post, the military worked toward abolishing even the appearance of discrimination. When a black dentist at Chanute Air Base complained about separate barber shops for blacks and whites, the Air Force moved quickly to consolidate the shops.[105] On installations around the country, service clubs, swimming pools, movie theaters, athletics, and other recreational venues widely opened to all regardless of color during and immediately after the Korean War.[106]

This is not to say that integration always went smoothly in the military. Jumping into the Officers' Club pool at Maxwell Airbase, Charles Dryden, an African American veteran of World War II and Korea, "was amazed how quickly I became the sole occupant." And when Dryden invited a comrade to stay with his family, the man declined saying, "Where I come from, white people just don't even socialize with colored people."[107] Overseas, a note left on the mess hall door of the 61st Artillery Battalion of the 1st Cavalry Division warned, "No n—s and dogs allowed, white only."[108] Black Korean War veterans at Camp Polk in 1952 complained that the Army located them so far from everything that they had to pay cab or bus fare even to reach places on base.[109] At Camp McCoy, Wisconsin, the Army fired Juanita Lewis, a black hostess,

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[104] American Legion Red River Post NO. 118, *Resolution,* 2 December 1956, Central Files, General File, GF 124-A-1 1956, Box 912, DDE Library. A 1956 AVC audit found that veterans' hospitals were integrating despite some problems. In some places, such as Mississippi, local veterans' organizations opposed integration and elsewhere, as in Montgomery, Alabama, hospitals tried to shift black patients to black hospitals like the one in Tuskegee. Mickey Levine, "Report on Negro Veterans in the South," 15 March 1956, 4-5, Central Files, General File, GF 124-A-1, Box 912, DDE Library.

[105] Letter Joan Bopp to President Eisenhower, 10 November 1953, Central Files, General File, GF 124-A-1 1954, Box 911, DDE Library.

[106] International Public Opinion Research, "Chapter XVIII Army and Korea," in *The Integration of Social Activities on Nine Army Posts, Report of an Exploratory Study, Prepared for Human Resources Research Office,* August 1953, 1-7, NA, RG 319, Box 007. On some posts, men self-segregated, but according to Army policy they were free to frequent whatever clubs or other places they wanted. In the South, racial lines had to be drawn for activities involving members of both sexes.

[107] Charles W. Dryden, *A-Train: Memoirs of a Tuskegee Airman* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1997), 302 and 311.

[108] "GI Tells of Bias in Army," *Pittsburgh Courier,* 9 January 1954, 1.

[109] "Korea Vets at Camp Polk Plead for Square Deal," *Pittsburgh Courier,* 22 March 1952, 11.

after she made it clear she would no longer officiate at dances with Jim Crow rules forcing African American troops to "sit in the corners and the rear and look on [while whites dance], or trudge slinkingly over to the line for refreshments."[110] At Fort Benning, Georgia, Grant Hauskin's commander told him that he would never be promoted as long as he stayed married to his white wife.[111] And, throughout the 1950s the military encouraged everyone from privates to generals to accommodate the discriminatory practices of local communities, even refusing to interfere when soldiers got into trouble with civilian law enforcement officials over segregation issues. The Air Force reprimanded one black pilot for refusing to move to the rear of a city bus in Alabama, noting "Your open violation of the segregation policy is indicative of poor judgment on your part and reflects unfavorably on your qualifications as a commissioned officer."[112]

Still, the U. S. military establishment in the 1950s far surpassed civilian society in racial progressivism, so much so that sometimes servicemen and women almost forgot that the communities around them lived differently. To the embarrassment of all, one colonel at a southern base unthinkingly sent black soldiers along with whites to a picnic held by a local organization.[113] Although not until a decade after Korea, this apparent color-blindness instilled by Army life and regulations led many within the military and government to push for an end to discrimination in cities and towns dependent upon the bases for economic support. In an effort to better the lives of those under them, some commanders in the South pressured movie theaters,

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[110] Collins C. George, "Fire Army Hostess at McCoy, *Pittsburgh Courier,* 22 December 1951, 1.
[111] Grant Hauskins, Interview by Nathan Stanley, 25 April 1997, 3-4, online at http://mcel.pacificu.edu/as/students/stanley/hoskins.html.
[112] Bernard Nalty, *Strength for the Fight: A History of Black Americans in the Military* (New York: The Free Press, 1986), 273. Also Press Release for Monday Morning, 23 November 1953, Washington Bureau of the N.A.A.C. P., NA, RG 319, Box 008. The Department of Defense also prohibited the participation of service members in any type of civil rights demonstrations. David Sutton, "The Military Mission Against Off-Base Discrimination," in Charles C. Moskos, Jr., ed., *Public Opinion and the Military Establishment* (Beverly Hills, CA: Sage Publications, 1971), 153-154.
[113] Leo Bogart, ed., *Project Clear: Social Research and the Desegregation of the United States Army* (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 1992), 259.

restaurants, and stores off post to accommodate all G.I.s regardless of race by making all segregated establishments off-limits to military personnel thus cutting off potential revenues.[114] Similarly, in an effort to deal with the inadequacy of off-base housing available to non-white servicemen, the Department of Defense in 1968 forbade military personnel from living in segregated housing. Not surprisingly, with their livelihoods in jeopardy, locals soon integrated recreational facilities and rental properties.[115] The Department of Defense also targeted off-base public schools attended by military dependents for integration, threatening to cut off public funding or use eminent domain as a justification for seizing them. Eventually, many schools built on land outside of military posts but with federal funds integrated as a result of this pressure brought to bear on them.[116] Military communities became islands of racial parity floating in an American sea of inequality and segregation.

Certainly, those separating from the military soon after their tour of duty in Korea did not experience the full impact of military integration. But, regardless of when one mustered out, the rebaptism into civilian life proved an awakening after living in the increasingly integrated society of the Armed Forces. While home front attitudes had shifted a little bit with regard to race, leading more than half of Americans polled in 1958 to agree that at some point in the future blacks and whites would share schools, restaurants, and public accommodations, the realities of life had stayed much the same.[117] As one black lieutenant put it, "When you get into town, it is

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[114] Sutton, "The Military Mission Against Off-Base Discrimination," in Moskos, ed. *Public Opinion and the Military Establishment*, 149-150.
[115] Peter Karsten, *Soldiers and Society: The Effects of Military Service and War on American Life* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1978), 97.
[116] One example of this was the base school (built off base) in Pulaski, Arkansas. When the Board of Education refused to let it be integrated, President Eisenhower proposed an eminent domain seizure. See Nalty, *Strength for the Fight*, 275.
[117] Southern whites overwhelmingly disapproved of efforts to desegregate things like trains, buses, and public waiting rooms. Polls in George Gallup, Jr., *The Gallup Poll: Public Opinion 1935-1971, Volume II: 1949-1958* (New York: Random House, 1972), 1402 and 1572.

the same old pattern that most know about. We have complete mixing on the post, but when you go into the city, it's just the same old story."[118]

After several Oakland, California restaurants refused entrance to one soldier in uniform, his wife asked, "Why did he serve thirty one years and nine months in the Army? Why did he fight for his country? Where is the country that he fought for?"[119] America as it existed in the 1950s had few adequate answers to those questions. In the South especially, time seemed to have stood still. Nearly a decade after the racial violence that accompanied African American soldiers home from World War II, southern towns remained relatively unsafe for blacks in uniform as well as in general. Just trying to vote, arguing over racial epithets, driving a car, or walking down the street made blacks the targets of police and civilian brutality in places like Alabama and Mississippi.[120] In Rupert, Georgia, Private Macy Yost Snipes defied the local white establishment by casting his vote in 1956 and paid with his life. Whites in the county would not even let Snipes' body be buried in the family plot and underscored their resistance to black voting by running Snipes' family out of town.[121] As late as 1960, the Marine Corps refrained from assigning black Marines to certain duty stations because of concerns for their welfare or the unavailability of off-post housing.[122]

Widespread discrimination in employment continued to limit opportunities for black veterans. Southern communities, for example, restricted blacks, even veterans, to certain

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[118] Quoted in Bogart, *Project Clear*, 263.
[119] Mrs. Virginia Soule to President Eisenhower, undated, Central Files, General Files, GF 124-A-1 1957 (4), Box 913, DDE Library.
[120] See the following in the *Pittsburgh Courier:* "Charleston, Mo., Veteran Beaten As Cop Watches," 11 October 1952, 4; "FBI, Army On Spot in GI Beating," 27 November 1951, 2; "Cops Beat GIs After Race Slur," 27 October 1951, 1; and "Half-Blind Vet Killed by 2 Cops," 23 December 1950, 1.
[121] Ray Sprigle, "A Soldier Who Came Home to Die," *Pittsburgh Courier Magazine*, 28 April 1956, 3.
[122] Morris J. MacGregor, Jr., *Integration of the Armed Forces, 1940-1965* (Washington, D.C.: Center of Military History, U.S. Army, 1981), 468.

occupations. In one Mississippi city black ex-G.I.s could only use their veterans' preference to become letter carriers and in the Montgomery, Alabama V. A. office they could only be employed as custodians. At Maxwell Air Base in Montgomery, all black workers started in the mess hall regardless their skills or qualifications.[123] After the war Vernon Warren went back to school to become a certified public accountant, but when he tried to land a job in his field, he "found the doors shut tight….He was still a black man. The war had changed him, but it had not changed that."[124]

Outside of the South inequalities existed as well. Motels and eateries across the country routinely refused service to black patrons, making it necessary for African American servicemen and women traveling to their hometowns or next duty stations to either obtain a copy of the "Green Book," a travelers' guide listing places where blacks could stay, or risk having to sleep in the train station, their car, or on the street.[125] Neighborhoods in several California cities refused to admit or accept non-white homeowners or occupants. Real estate operators in Garden Grove refused to sell a home to Dr. Sammy Lee, an Olympic diving champion who toured Asian countries for the State Department in an effort to fight communist claims of racial prejudice in the U.S., because of his Korean ancestry.[126] White residents in Los Angeles set off a bomb at black war veteran William Bailey's home and left a note declaring, "We will bomb Negroes out."[127] Elsewhere, whites formed mobs, planted crosses in the yards of blacks, and threw stones at the homes of people they wanted out. Sometimes, as in the case of black World War II

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[123] Mickey Levine, "Report on Negro Veterans in the South," 15 March 1956, 5-6, Central Files, General File, GF 124-A-1, Box 912, DDE Library.
[124] Bill Smith, "Black Soldiers Fully Shared Korean War's Bloody Cost," *St. Louis Post-Dispatch,* 20 February 2002, A1.
[125] Dryden, *A-Train,* 301.
[126] Clipping Michael Harris, "Dr. Sammy Lee, Korean Descent: U. S. Olympic Champ Denied Home—Racism," *San Francisco Chronicle,* 19 August 1955, Central Files, General File, GF 124, Box 908, DDE Library.
[127] "Families Warned: Get Out," *Pittsburgh Courier,* 22 March 1952, 1.

veteran Wilbur Gary, the law supported one's right as an American to live where they chose, but undoubtedly scare tactics forced more than a few families to simply move on.[128] In Phoenix, Arizona, the veterans' cemetery allowed whites killed in action to be buried without clearance, but African American Thomas Reed's body was kept on ice after shipment back from Korea because rules stipulated that blacks could only be buried after the receipt of three notarized letters from veterans' organizations.[129] Similarly, a Sioux City, Iowa cemetery refused to allow the burial of John Rice, a Winnebago veteran of World War II killed in Korea, because he was not of the "Caucasian race."[130] Asked to join a fraternity at Boston University, former Marine Jack Orth learned, much to his disgust, that the organization had rejected fellow ex-Marines because of their race.[131]

Confronted with Jim Crow segregation and bigotry, the unsavory hallmarks of American life outside of the U. S. military, many returnees felt confused, even angry. Having marched to war armed with the belief that their wartime service would result somehow in a "larger measure of freedom, dignity, and opportunity for our loved ones at home," black and other non-white veterans wondered, "Who was my worst enemy, really?"[132] Were communists abroad as bad as racists at home? And, white veterans, possessing intimate friendships across the color line from their service in the Army or Marines, felt "deeply perplexed about the racial discrimination" leveled against their comrades.[133] But what would they do about it?

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[128] "Minister Injured While Defending Veteran, Family," *Pittsburgh Courier,* 15 March 1952, 1.
[129] "GI Awaits 'Permission' To Be Buried," *Pittsburgh Courier,* 12 January 1952, 1.
[130] President Truman made Arlington National Cemetery available to Rice's family for his burial. Clipping "Iowa Cemetery Halts Burial of U. S. Indian Killed in Korea," Box 35 and Memo Haven Emerson to Harry Truman, 30 August 1951, Box 35, CFSOKW.
[131] John "Jack" Orth, *Korean War Veteran Survey,* 7, CFSOKW.
[132] Samuel L. Banks, "The Korean Conflict," *Negro History Bulletin* 36:6 (1973), 132 and Dryden, *A-Train,* 392-393.
[133] James G. Campbell, *Korean War Veteran Survey,* 7, CFSOKW.

In light of the activism and controversy stirred up by the Vietnam War and veterans of that conflict, historians have tended to view Korean War veterans as passive, easily accepting the status quo and peacefully melting back into society after returning from the war. Indeed, raised during the Great Depression and World War II, most veterans of Korea early learned and internalized the lesson that no matter the circumstances one had no other choice but to uncomplainingly forget personal preferences and get on with the tasks at hand. The culture of conformity which rose with the Soviet threat in the years after World War II reinforced the inclination to subvert one's own desires for the security of the country. Consequently, Korean War veterans, whatever their ideas on the matter, did not launch any great crusades to win equal civil rights for Americans of all colors.

However, Korean War veterans individually did protest Jim Crowism and contribute to the quest for social justice in invaluable ways. One black non-commissioned officer, frustrated at having to move to the back of the bus when it left the base, made a point while on post of sitting "right behind the driver, just to watch the cracker burn up."[134] During the Vietnam War, Clarence Adams, who had originally gone to the People's Republic of China at the end of the Korean War but then returned to the United States, made radio broadcasts telling African Americans, "If you are going to fight, you need to go home and fight for your own cause. You're being wasted for a cause that isn't even yours."[135] Others joined the N.A.A.C.P. and contributed to its "Freedom Fund" to "help improve our democracy."[136] So many blacks at some

[134] Quoted in Bogart, *Project Clear,* 261.
[135] Adams is an interesting case. A POW during the Korean War, he chose to go to the People's Republic of China rather than return home when given the choice. He did later return to the U.S., though, explaining to HUAC that he chose China because "I'm black" and he wanted to improve his life. Carlson, *Remembered Prisoners of a Forgotten War*, 211.
[136] "Ex-POW Donates to NAACP 'Freedom Fund,'" *Baltimore Afro-American,* 12 September 1953, 3 and "Veteran Takes Out 2nd NAACP Life Membership in Ind.," *Baltimore Afro-American,* 7 November 1953, 5. Also see Selika

American Legion posts joined the N.A.A.C.P. that two white posts unsuccessfully tried to get these kicked out of the organization on grounds that they were "dabbling in partisan politics."[137] Additionally, Black veterans risked their lives to register to vote and turned out at the polls.[138]

Korean War veterans also joined veterans' organizations which made it their business to make a difference. The American Veterans Committee (AVC) attracted some Korean War veterans as members and this socially progressive veterans' organization fought against Orville Faubus in Little Rock, Arkansas, demanded an end to racial segregation at the federally funded and supervised Columbia Institution for the Deaf in Washington D.C., called on the District of Columbia to pass and enforce a law banning discrimination in public recreational places, petitioned President Eisenhower to intervene in Prince Edward County, Virginia where the Board of Supervisors decided to cut off all funding to public schools after required to integrate them, and worked tirelessly to tear down the walls of segregation.[139] Representatives of the Jewish War Veterans of the United States of America presented the Platform Committees of the

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M. Ducksworth, *What Hour of the Night: Black Enlisted Men's Experiences and the Desegregation of the Army During the Korean War, 1950-1951* (Ph.D. diss., Ohio State University, 1997), 152.

[137] The two white posts also wanted all Negro posts to expel all members who belonged to the N.A.A.C.P. Letter Roy Wilkins to Martin B. McKneally, 23 December 1959; Memorandum to the Files from Mr. Current, 17 April 1958; and Medgar W. Evers to Roy Wilkins, 20 December 1957, all in The Records of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Group 3, Box A197, Folder "Discrimination American Legion 1957-1964," LOC.

[138] Ducksworth. *What Hour of the Night* ,152 and "FBI, Army On Spot in GI Beating," *Pittsburgh Courier*, 27 January 1951, 2.

[139] The Records of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Group 3, Box A197, Folder "American Veterans Committee 1956-1964," LOC; Clipping "Secretary Hobby Gets Brief Saying; No Law Requires It," Central Files, Official Files, OF 142-A, Box 731, DDE Library; and American Veterans Committee, "Summary of Efforts to Make Uniform in the District of Columbia the Law Against Racial Discrimination in Places of Public Amusement," 14 February 1956 and Paul Cook to E. Frederick Morrow, 2 September 1959, Staff Files of Administrative Officer—Special Projects (Morrow), Civil Rights Clippings and Data (3), Box 10, DDE Library. Also, Rodney G. Minott, *Peerless Patriots: Organized Veterans and the Spirit of Americanism* (Washington, D.C.: Public Affairs Press, 1962), 103-106.

Democratic and Republican National Conventions with a call for further "programs of education and legislation to wipe out racial and religious discrimination."[140]

More aggressively, some Korean War veterans, especially African Americans, "contributed to the increasing use of armed self-defense in the postwar decades."[141] In 1964, World War II and Korean veterans came together to found the Deacons for Defense and Justice to protect people involved in the burgeoning Civil Rights Movement, deter white violence in the South, and fight the Ku Klux Klan.[142] Veterans brought to the table not only a new sort of militancy, but also technical expertise and the kind of courage learned on the battlefield. Protected by the Deacons of Defense, Civil Rights worker Robert Lewis notes, "We had veterans that have been to Korea and place like that knew how to make stuff, just like the Molotov Cocktails. So we knew how to make the time bombs, too."[143] Similarly, Albert Turner, thinking back to the summer of 1965 when he worked in Crenshaw County, Alabama registering voters, remembers that the local leader accompanying and watching over them was a Korean War veteran.[144] Generally working within the system, Korean War veteran activists did not seek or achieve the sort of visibility that their sons and daughters of the next war would, but in many small ways they did make lasting contributions to the movements that reshaped American life with regard to race. In part because of the vision instilled in servicemen and women by the

[140] "Resolutions Presented to the Platform Committees at the Democratic National Convention in Chicago and at the Republican National Convention in San Francisco by the Jewish War Veterans of the United States of America," Central Files, PPF 47, Jackson County Apple Festival Association, Box 822, DDE Library.
[141] Greta de Jong, *A Different Day: African American Struggles for Justice in Rural Louisiana, 1900-1970* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002), 171.
[142] Ducksworth, *What Hour of the Night?*, 153.
[143] Robert and Essie May Lewis, Interview by Greta de Jong (transcribed by Janna Robinson), 25 November 1996, 4700.0738, Session I, Special Collections, Hill Memorial Library, LSU Libraries, Baton Rouge, Louisiana.
[144] Albert Turner, Memoir, online at www.crmvet.org/mem/alturner.htm.

military in the 1950s and 1960s, Americans of all races and nationalities came to live together in an integrated, if not yet color blind society.

Old Wounds and New Lives

Whether they knew it or not, many veterans of the Korean War "had more problems than anyone realized when I first came home."[145] They might have exited the war but it most certainly had not yet left them. As a result, many veterans did strange things after their return. Accustomed to living in a prisoner of war camp, William Allen left burning cigarettes all over the house, throwing them on the floor without realizing it.[146] Another veteran, eating breakfast with his parents, unconsciously asked them to "pass the f—king sugar."[147] Irwin Crockett dove for cover when a truck backfired.[148] Kenneth Dixon trembled and shook until he could not hold a cup of coffee and knew of men who returned unable to talk.[149] While loving the smell and feel of clean sheets, some slept on the ground just as they had in Korea. Others showered multiple times a day or soaked in the tub for hours. After months spent in cold and filth, they could not get enough hot water and they wanted to be clean again. "The dirt and grime of Korea was still in my pores and embedded under my fingernails. I had to soak it away."[150] Used to having to

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[145] William D. Dannenmaier, *We Were Innocents: An Infantryman in Korea* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999), 225.
[146] Allen, *My Old Box of Memories*, 89.
[147] Howard Matthias, *The Korean War—Reflections of a Young Combat Platoon Leader, rvsd. ed.* (Tallahassee, FL: Father & Son Publishing, 1995), 87. Many veterans report the difficulty they had keeping their language in check after returning from Korea. See also Robert Henderson, *Korean War Veteran Survey*, 10, CFSOKW.
[148] Irwin Crockett in Louis Baldovi, ed., *A Foxhole View: Personal Accounts of Hawaii's Korean War Veterans* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2002), 152.
[149] Kenneth Dixon, Videotaped Interview by Joe James, 20 August 2008, part of series "Remembering the Korean War: Wartime Wilmington Commemoration," held at University of North Carolina at Wilmington.
[150] James H. Putnam, Memoir (Korean War Educator), 35 and Floyd Baxter in Knox and Coppel, *The Korean War: Uncertain Victory*, 357.

remain on guard in the foxholes, David Van Leeuwen almost killed his brother when he came to wake him up and Arthur Smith narrowly missed hitting his mother when she entered the room while he was sleeping.[151] Charles Bussey awoke frequently to "check security" and Jack Wright took to roaming the streets at night.[152] Some slept with guns under their pillows, making for a few close calls when someone inadvertently woke them up or startled them.[153] More astoundingly, some veterans lashed out with tremendous violence. Anderson Williams, a combat veteran, prowled around at night throwing rocks at women drivers, a habit which ultimately cost him $3000 in fines and his driver's license.[154] Samuel Fikes choked his wife to death in a "jilted lover's quarrel" and Thomas Howell allegedly beat a ten year old boy after asking him, "Are you Jewish."[155] To varying degrees, these nervous and jumpy returnees had trouble acting normal. "After all, who or what did I have to compare normal living with?"[156]

Odd behaviors usually subsided with the passage of time, but mental issues stemming from veterans' overseas experiences often continued. From the trenches or hospitals in Korea and Japan, it had seemed that all would be well if only a person could return safely to family and friends. Once home, returning veterans wanted to "wallow in all this happiness [at returning],

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[151] David Van Leeuwen (AFC 2001/001/4394), Folder 2, Interview by Grace Kay Van Leeuwen, 14 December 2001, 3, VHPC, AFC, LOC and Arthur Smith, Memoir (Korean War Educator).
[152] Bussey, *Firefight at Yechon*, 259 and Jack Wright in Knox and Coppel, *The Korean War: Uncertain Victory*, 359.
[153] Edmund Krekorian in Knox and Coppel, *The Korean War: Uncertain Victory*, 362.
[154] What is even more unusual about Williams' case is that at the time he committed this crime he was still a sergeant in the Army stationed at Ft. Benning. In general men who remained in the military adjusted better to their return home than those who separated from the service. See below. "GI Pays $3000 Fine," *Pittsburgh Courier*, 2 January 1954, 1.
[155] "Youthful War Vet Kills Wife," *Pittsburgh Courier*, 4 June 1955, 1. Another article on the same day and page discusses the suicide of a 23 year old airman after shooting his wife, but it isn't clear whether or not he was a Korean War veteran. See "GI Shoots Wife, Kills Self." "Brooklyn Man Held in Beating of Boy, 10," *New York Times*, 16 May 1955, 11.
[156] Allen, *My Old Box of Memories*, 88.

but somehow I just couldn't."[157] For a great many, the war wouldn't go away. When awake, they worried about friends still caught on the battleground and "could not stop thinking about all the buddies I'd lost in Korea. … Like me, they'd been looking forward to a future; one that would never happen for them."[158] They felt guilty "because I had survived and all my friends didn't" or because after they left friends died or got wounded and "I still felt responsible."[159] Sleep brought little respite from feelings of guilt or memories of the war as nightmares made everything real again. In Charles Bussey's dreams, "Chinese soldiers trampled over my shallow grave and double-timed over me" and in Leonard Korgie's he begged an officer not to send him back to Korea despite orders.[160] More terrifying, Hoppy Harris dreamed that "the decomposed bodies of the enemies I have killed come rising from their graves, and I rush madly about trying to push them back into their graves, but they will not stay there. They keep popping back as if trying to get at me, seeking revenge for my having sent them to an early grave."[161] As months and years passed, some men found their lives less frequently interrupted by sad or intrusive thoughts or frightening nightmares, but for many these never completely went away. As one veteran writes, "My long ago war, so hauntingly remote/Still rings in my ears like an exploding shell,/Shattering this cozy peace surrounding me/And shouting old memories."[162] Over half a century since the conflict ended, Gilbert Towner "grieve[s] for the men that are still in the ground around Chosin Resevoir" and William Dannenmaier wonders if the dreams that trouble

[157] Leonard Korgie in Knox and Coppel, *The Korean War: Uncertain Victory,* 371.
[158] Harlee W. Lassiter, *Korean War Veteran Survey,* attachment page, CFSOKW.
[159] Gerald Gingery, Army Service (Korean War) Questionnaire, 18, 1st Cavalry Division, Surnames A-L and Douglas G. Anderson, Army Service (Korean War) Questionnaire, 18, 2nd Division, 23rd Regiment, Alphabetical Box 1, Carlisle Barracks.
[160] Bussey, *Firefight at Yechon,* 260 and Leonard Korgie in Knox and Coppel, *The Korean War: Uncertain Victory,* 373.
[161] Hoppy Harris, "When Sleep Comes" in "Return to Heartbreak Ridge: A Journey Into the Past," Box EE, Folder A0956, CFSOKW.
[162] Ronald Landry, "Korea" in "Chosen House," Box FF, Folder 0964, CFSOKW.

his sleep will end when he dies or "as I have sometimes thought, I died as a young soldier. Then, those dreams are my eternity."[163]

After participating in the great life and death drama of the war, no matter how terrible, many veterans found civilian life boring and inconsequential and had great trouble settling down and becoming civilians again. Keyed up from Korea, Jack Wright was "restless as hell." To take the edge off while on leave, he "spent every dime I made," including his back pay.[164] Others developed a "crazy longing to return to the front."[165] Of more significance, many felt "like an alien when I came home" and developed negative attitudes toward regular life or toward themselves.[166] To Seymour Bernstein, "all seemed temporal and unreal" and, after witnessing so many tragedies in Korea, the worries of the people around him seemed petty.[167] Similarly, William Dannenmaier believed, "Life was transient, ludicrous, and I was meaningless in it." Seeing people gathered to talk and laugh, he wanted to scream, "Why are you laughing? They didn't know what the world was like. They had no knowledge of the pain and anguish in the world."[168] Numb to the new realities around them, returnees had difficulty talking to non-veterans, "enjoying the things I once did," trusting people, making the most basic decisions, and expressing emotions.[169] Sensing their own blandness toward death, believing they "could kill anyone, stranger or friend, and walk away without concern," and frightened by their "tendency to

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[163] Gilbert Towner, *Korean War Veteran Survey,* 9, CFSOKW and Dannenmaier, *We Were Innocents,* 1.
[164] Jack Wright in Knox and Coppel, *The Korean War: Uncertain Victory,* 359.
[165] Ralph Cutro, *Korean War Veteran Survey,* 7, CFSOKW and Edmund Krekorian in Knox and Coppel, *The Korean War: Uncertain Victory,* 362.
[166] Charles V. Alioto, Army Service (Korean War) Questionnaire, 17, 2nd Division, 23rd Regiment, Alphabetical Box 1, Carlisle Barracks.
[167] Bernstein, *Monsters and Angels,* 339.
[168] Dannenmaier, *We Were Innocents,* 226.
[169] Leonard Korgie in Knox and Coppel, *The Korean War: Uncertain Victory,* 371; Seymour Harris, Jr., Army Service (Korean War) Questionnaire, 18, 2nd Division, 23rd Regiment, Alphabetical Box 1, Carlisle Barracks; Harold L. Mulhausen, *Korean War Veteran Survey,* 7, CFSOKW; Barnett R. Wilson (AFC2001/001/2783), Folder 1, "A Korean Cruise—Magic Moments of Life, Love, and War," 200, VHPC, AFC, LOC; Dannenmaier, *We Were Innocents,* 1.

look at those who annoyed me and consider the best way to get rid of them," they had reason to question whether they would ever really live again.[170] Unmistakably the war aged and transformed those who experienced it. As one veteran puts it, "I lost something in Korea."[171]

Eventually, veterans tried to come to terms with what they had experienced in the Far East and find ways to readjust to life at home. Initially, many sought out old friends in hopes of finding a place to fit in again. Frequently, these encounters proved counterproductive. Not only did old high school or college chums know little about the war, they expected returnees to "be again the person I was before I went overseas," but "it was too late for that."[172] Elmer Payne nearly got into a fist fight when his old high school classmates insisted that he was "'lucky' not having to face the draft." Deciding he'd better stay away from them in the future, Payne avoided them even at his fifty year reunion in 1998.[173] In any case, those who had remained behind seemed so inexperienced and naive compared to the men and women who had served in the war. "Somehow I felt I had nothing in common anymore with these guys; I couldn't relate to them. We were the same age, but they seemed younger than me."[174] Veterans just had "experiences that they could never relate to, whereas they had had life experiences that I would someday be able to relate to, but did not yet have. Theirs was college, mine combat, face to face with the chance of death, all day, every day for over a year."[175] Worse yet, "time had moved on for them whereas it was just starting for me."[176] Men and women at home had married and started

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[170] Dannenmaier, *We Were Innocents,* 225.
[171] Ralph David Fly, Memoir (Korean Ware Educator), 28.
[172] Dannenmaier, *We Were Innocents,* 225.
[173] Elmer "Palmer" Payne, *Korean War Veteran Survey,* 7, CFSOKW.
[174] Floyd Baxter in Knox and Coppel, *The Korean War: Uncertain Victory,* 360-361. Also John M. Pitre, *Korean War Veteran Survey,* 7, CFSOKW and Harlee W. Lassiter, *Korean War Veteran Survey,* attachment page, CFSOKW.
[175] Clarence Jackson "Jack" Davis (AFC2001/001/1644), Folder 1, Unpublished letters and postscript, 180, VHPC, AFC, LOC.
[176] Allen, *My Old Box of Memories,* 88.

families, gone to college, gotten good jobs, and purchased homes. Veterans couldn't help feeling that they "had a time gap in my life that could never be filled" and consider "myself hopelessly behind everyone else."[177] Thus efforts to reconnect sometimes ended only in bitterness and a simmering anger that people at home had gone on to live comfortable, undisturbed lives while other Americans had suffered the pain and sadness of Korea.[178]

Realizing that "no one wanted to hear about where I had been, what I had done, and what I had seen," many veterans tried to repress their memories and "forget most of the bad experiences.[179] They seldom talked about the demons haunting them, the "killing, maiming, frostbite, barbed wire, fear, trembling, doubt, arson, exhaustion, death, or blood" that had entered their psyches in Korea and remained to punish them after coming home.[180] POWs especially kept quiet and guarded about their experiences. Almost as soon as they had been freed, the military began warning them not to speak about what had happened to them in the camps and to be careful not to reveal any secrets.[181] Also, by the time POWs finally reached the States, the U.S. Army and others had begun a witch hunt, looking for "collaborators" and making the public suspicious of anyone who had been captured by the Koreans or Chinese.[182] At a parade hosted

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[177] *Ibid.* and Harlee W. Lassiter, *Korean War Veteran Survey,* attachment page, CFSOKW.
[178] *Ibid.*
[179] Email Ted Hofsiss to Janell Coppage, 24 April 1999, Box FF, Folder A0958, CFSOKW and Herman Aud McLeroy, Army Service (Korean War) Questionnaire, 18, 1st Cavalry Division, Surnames M-Z, Carlisle Barracks. Also see Gerald F. Linderman, *The World Within War: America's Combat Experience in World War II* (New York: The Free Press, 1987), 362.
[180] Bussey, *Firefight at Yechon,* 260.
[181] See Glenn Reynolds in Carlson, *Remembered Prisoners of a Forgotten War,* 230.
[182] See Spiller, ed. *American POWs in Korea,* 111 and Richard Severo and Lewis Milford, *The Wages of War: When America's Soldiers Came Home—From Valley Forge to Vietnam* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1989), 317-322. Army Psychiatrist Major William E. Mayer claimed that POWs had not been subjected to physical torture and accused them of yielding because of "serious weakness in Americans' character." He publicized his findings in articles like "Why Did Many GI Captives Cave In?" *U. S. News and World Report* 40 (24 February 1956), 56-62. Various celebrities such as Dr. Spock also weighed in and a plethora of contemporary newspaper and magazine articles focused on the fears surrounding POWs. For example see "Washed Brains of POW's: Can They Be Rewashed?" *Newsweek* 41 (4 May 1953), 37 and "The Boys Come Home," *Time Magazine* 61 (11 May 1953), 30. Articles debunking brainwashing also appeared and a later congressional hearing helped set the matter straight, but

for returning POW Jack Flanary in Benham, Kentucky officials from the VFW barged in to announce "'rumors' that the sergeant had been 'responsive to communist indoctrination.'"[183] The FBI and CIA badgered and investigated almost all POWs for years after their return.[184] Caught in the repressive social climate of the deepening Cold War, many veterans, whether POW or not, decided, "This is not good. I'd better just keep my mouth shut."[185]

Men or women desperate or brave enough to try and talk about their experiences right after the war found most Americans ill-equipped or unwilling to help them. As Paula Schnurr, an official at the Veteran Administration's National Center for Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder in 2000 admitted, both the government and research scientists ignored the post-combat emotional problems of Korean War veterans.[186] And, even when returnees got to what should have been the right places, the staff and personnel didn't know what to do with them. Visiting physicians and psychiatrists, Charles Bussey determined that they "had no idea of appropriate treatment for my problems," forcing him to try and cope on his own. Similarly, checked into a veteran's hospital, Walter Adelmann received a diagnosis of battle fatigue but was released without any effective treatment.[187] Furthermore, government budget cuts in the mid-1950s resulted in the curtailment of psychiatric services for veterans, even for those already approved for and engaged

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in the minds of many, POWs remained somehow tainted. See Congress, Senate, Committee on Government Operations, *Communist Interrogation, Indoctrination and Exploitation of American Military and Civilian Prisoners: Hearings Before the Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations of the Committee on Government Operations,* 84th Congress, 2nd sess., June 1956.

[183] Carlson, *Remembered Prisoners of a Forgotten War,* 1.

[184] See Donald L. Slagle in Spiller, *American POWs in Korea,* 111 and Akira Chikami in Carlson, *Remembered Prisoners of a Forgotten War,* 47.

[185] Robert A. Maclean in Carlson, *Remembered Prisoners of a Forgotten War,* 29.

[186] Richard T. Cooper, "Vets Still Conflicted Over Korea," *Los Angeles Times,* 19 January 2000, 1.

[187] Bussey, *Firefight at Yechon,* 260 and Walter G. Adelmann in Spiller, *American POWs in Korea,* 38.

in treatment, making the likelihood of finding a professional to talk to about wartime experiences more unlikely.[188]

Sharing with other veterans might have provided relief for men still stinging from combat or captivity, but not all veterans' groups welcomed Korean War veterans. Not legally recognized as war veterans by the government until the late 1950s, Korean War veterans occasionally found themselves turned away by organizations like the VFW and American Legion, created and controlled by World War I or World War II veterans.[189] Both the American Legion and VFW refused to allow Verlin Rogers to join until years later, claiming that the "Korean War was 'not a war' and I did not qualify."[190] Some veterans claim that the American Legion took rejection a step further. In *To Acknowledge a War* Paul Edwards asserts that the American Legion blamed American servicemen for the stalemate in Korea and "supported a smear campaign" which painted these new veterans as not only soft on communism but morally weaker than the veterans of other wars.[191] Unsurprisingly, even many years after the conflict, Korean War veterans who had not properly readjusted tended to believe that their problems "were my fault, some weakness in me."[192]

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[188] In 1953, about $3 million were trimmed from the V.A. budget causing cutbacks. In response, the V.A. ordered a reduction of mental patient treatments at clinics outside regular V.A. facilities and abolished evening sessions that had been created to accommodate working patients. Patients were notified that their care had been suspended via telephone without prior warning. See remarks and articles provided by Congressman Isidore Dollinger of New York in *Appendix to the Congressional Record* (House), 83rd Congress, 2nd Session, volume 100 (Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1955), A5-A7.

[189] For medical purposes, those returning from Korea were identified as war veterans before the war's end (see below), but, although efforts were made earlier, Congress did not designate the Korean War as a war until the late 1950s. Paul M. Edwards, *To Acknowledge a War: The Korean War in American Memory* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2000), 53**.** In December 1950, the American Legion did redefine its membership eligibility rules to include Korean War veterans, but local chapters did not always abide by these. *Public Law 895*, 81st Congress, 2nd sess., *United States Statutes at Large* (Washington, D.C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1952), 1122.

[190] Verlin Rogers, Army Service (Korean War) Questionnaire, 18, 1st Cavalry Division, Surnames M-Z, Carlisle Barracks. See also Rodney G. Minott, *Peerless Patriots*, 102-103.

[191] Edwards, *To Acknowledge a War*, 32-34.

[192] Robert C. Bjork, Army Service (Korean War) Questionnaire, continuation sheet, 2nd Division, 23rd Regiment, Alphabetical Box 1, Carlisle Barracks.

"Screwed up mentally and … not ready for our world," returnees, especially men, commonly turned to alcohol or drugs to drown their troubles.[193] "I drank an awful lot. I tried to use alcohol to overcome my problems."[194] Walter Adelmann drank for two months after his return and for Jack Orth "drinking became the order of the day, and that became more and more of a problem."[195] For many veterans of the Korean War, trying to do "the best I could" and unable to put the conflict behind them, early months of drinking spiraled into years or lifetimes of alcoholism or substance abuse.[196] Ted Hofsiss drank heavily through part of another reenlistment and Vernon Warren came home drunk nearly every day throughout his career as a postal carrier because "there was nothing he could do to push the war out of his mind." Bennie Gordon used alcohol to "numb the pain, and keep the nightmares away" for decades until put on medication and now "tries not to leave his house, unless he has to."[197] Not simply an illness of veterans, alcoholism did plague Korean War veterans, particularly those who participated in combat, at rates somewhat elevated above those of their contemporaries. And, because these returnees were trying to cover one problem, the inability to forget the past and get on with their lives, with another, substance abuse, they often failed to recognize the "severity of their problems and … [did] not avail themselves of the opportunity for treatment."[198] Consequently,

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[193] Email Shorty Estabrook to Melinda Pash, 5 August 2004, in author's possession. Also Morrow, *What's a Commie Ever Done to Black People?*, 1.
[194] Gilbert Towner in Richard T. Cooper, "Vets Still Conflicted Over Korea," *Los Angeles Times*, 19 January 2000, 1.
[195] Walter G. Adelmann in Spiller,ed., *American POWs in Korea*, 37 and John "Jack" Orth, *Korean War Veteran Survey*, 8, CFSOKW.
[196] *Ibid.* Many veterans of the Second World War also struggled with alcoholism after their return. See Tuttle, *"Daddy's Gone to War,"* 218-219.
[197] Email Ted Hofsiss to Janell Coppage, 24 April 1999, Box FF, Folder A0958, CFSOKW and Bill Smith, "Black Soldiers Fully Shared Korean War's Bloody Cost," *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, 20 February 2002, A1.
[198] L. Branchey, W. Davis, and C. S. Lieber, "Alcoholism in Vietnam and Korea Veterans: A Long Term Follow-Up," *Alcoholism: Clinical and Experimental Research* 8:6 (November/December 1984), 37. Also Keith A. Druley and Steven Pashko, "Posttraumatic Stress Disorder in World War II and Korean Combat Veterans with Alcohol Dependency," *Recent Dev. Alcohol* 6 (1988), 89-101 and Grayson S. Norquist, Richard L. Hough, Jacquesline M.

many veterans of the "police action" in Korea still struggle with the bottle, their failed marriages, lost careers, and shattered dreams trailing behind them.[199]

In retrospect, many veterans realize that PTSD, or post-traumatic stress disorder, lay at the heart of their difficulty in readjusting when they rotated home, but, at the time, the servicemen and women returning from the war zone knew nothing "about post combat stress or anything like it."[200] Born into a generation reared to show the same can-do spirit exhibited by Americans during the Great Depression and the Second World War, most internalized and accepted the lesson that they were "to solve our own problems."[201] To do otherwise demonstrated not just a lack of resolve, but revealed unacceptable and embarrassing personal and moral weaknesses.[202] This, coupled with a lack of programs designed to assist veterans in resuming a normal life, meant that only rarely did Korean War veterans find their way in the 1950s or even the 1960s or 1970s to specialists at the Veterans Administration or elsewhere who could explain to them what was wrong.[203] One doctor noted that even once treatment became available, Korean War veterans stubbornly resisted regular psychotherapy until "satisfied that their problems will not be solved through their own resources, such as by an educational or occupational adjustment; working with non-psychiatric physicians … or utilization of some other

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Golding, and Javier I. Escobar, "Psychiatric Disorder in Male Veterans and Nonveterans," *The Journal of Nervous and Mental Disease* 178:5 (May 1990), 328-335.

[199] For a study of the long term effects of veteran, particularly POW use of alcohol, see William F. Page and Richard N. Miller, "Cirrhosis Mortality Among Former American Prisoners of War of World War II and the Korean Conflict: Results of a 50-Year Follow-Up," *Military Medicine* 165:10 (October 2000), 781-785.

[200] PTSD, called "shell shock" during World War I and "battle fatigue" during World War II, can afflict anyone who has been exposed to a frightening or life-threatening event, such as an earthquake, tornado, or battle. PTSD causes a wide range of problems such as emotional detachment, sleep disturbances, and fearfulness.

[201] Ralph Cutro, *Korean War Veteran Survey*, 7, CFSOKW.

[202] Richard T. Cooper, "Vets Still Conflicted Over Korea," *Los Angeles Times*, 19 January 2000, 1 and Frances I. Snell and Edgardo Padin-Rivera, "Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder and the Elderly Combat Veteran," *Journal of Gerontological Nursing* 23:10 (October 1997), 17.

[203] Some men complain about the lack of help available. See Billy Joe Harris in Carlson, *Remembered Prisoners of a Forgotten War,* 228.

external means."[204] Instead, they suffered silently and alone. Severe headaches crippled returnees as did flashbacks, irritability, nerve problems, restlessness, depression, nightmares, feelings of insufficiency, fatigue, and difficulties in concentration.[205] One man had recurring bouts of painful hives caused by "post anxiety reaction."[206] Some were such "a mess" that they could not raise their own children or hold down any type of job.

POWs and men who endured heavy combat fared less well than the typical veteran.[207] As a result of the extreme conditions under which they had been held, POWs became mistrustful of people, uncomfortable in crowds or social settings, emotionally detached from loved ones, and unable to focus.[208] As Charley Davis noted, "I still size people up as soon as I meet them. I listen to the way they talk, and I watch how they act and react. I want to see if they are real or pretending to be something they are not … In the camps you had to make sure someone wasn't going to get you in trouble over something you said."[209] Robert Maclean could not even take advantage of the G. I. Bill to go to college because being in the classroom "felt like I was back in

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[204] Tompkins, "Korean Veterans with Psychiatric Disabilities," 36-37. Tompkins also noted that Korean War veterans in general sought psychiatric help more readily World War II veterans but then used it in a very limited fashion. Also, Korean veterans who applied for treatment at mental clinics tended to be "more seriously and more severely disturbed than World War II veterans."

[205] Spiller, *American POWs in Korea*,30 and 66; Dannenmaier, *We Were Innocents*, 266; and Phillip N. Bailey, Army Service (Korean War) Questionnaire, 18, 2nd Division, 23rd Regiment, Alphabetical Box 1, Carlisle Barracks.

[206] Robert C. Bjork, Army Service (Korean War) Questionnaire, 18, 2nd Division, 23rd Regiment, Alphabetical Box 1, Carlisle Barracks.

[207] For more on heavy combat leading to "a much higher risk of emotional problems after the service," see Glen H. Elder, Jr. and Elizabeth Colerick Clipp, "Combat Experience and Emotional Health: Impairment and Resilience in Later Life," *Journal of Personality* 57:2 (June 1989), 327. POWs continue to suffer from PTSD at alarmingly high rates. Some studies indicate that as many as nine of ten POW survivors have PTSD. "Emotional Trauma Haunts Korean War POWs," *Science News* 139 (2 February 1991), 68.

[208] "Emotional Trauma Haunts Korean POWs," *Science News* 139 (2 February 1991), 68. Also see Cynthia Lindman Port, Brian Engdahl, and Patricia Frazier, "A Longitudinal and Retrospective Study of PTSD Among Older Prisoners of War" *American Journal of Psychiatry* 158 (September 2001), 1474-1479 and Brian Engdahl, Thomas N. Dikel, Raina Eberly, and Arthur Blank, Jr., "Posttraumatic Stress Disorder in a Community of Former Prisoners of War: A Normative Response to Severe Trauma," *American Journal of Psychiatry* 154:11 (November 1997), 1576-1581.

[209] Charles Davis in Carlson, *Remembered Prisoners of a Forgotten War*, 195.

prison camp again. I couldn't concentrate on anything they were trying to teach me."[210] As ex-POW Shorty Estabrook wrote, "Life has been cruel for many of us and we are time bombs ticking. We never did adjust properly."[211]

On a day to day basis, men affected with PTSD tried to forget the war, but "the memories of that horrifying time" never completely went away. As Rudolph Stephens notes, "Somewhere in the recesses of my mind will always be a place that will haunt me for the rest of my life. A place called Korea."[212] Without professional help, many remained mired in mental issues caused by the war.[213] Not until some twenty or thirty years after the armistice did therapy become readily available to Korean War veterans afflicted with PTSD, and then only by accident. In the wake of the Vietnam War and the return of that conflict's battered veterans, the V.A. began to train therapists and offer and advertise counseling for men and women adversely affected by their wartime service.[214] At the about the same time, public awareness increased and Korean War veterans saw advertisements for therapy sessions on billboards at veteran's hospitals, read about PTSD in newspapers and magazines, and watched television programs dedicated to the

[210] Robert A. Maclean in *Ibid.*, 29.
[211] Email Shorty Estabrook to Melinda Pash, 5 August 2004, in author's possession.
[212] Stephens, *Old Ugly Hill*, 171. Also, Morrow, *What's a Commie Ever Done to Black People?*, 1. Studies show the longevity of these memories and the PTSD that can accompany them. See Scott P. Orr, Roger K. Pitman, Natasha B. Lasko, and Lawrence R. Herz, "Psychophysiological Assessment of Posttraumatic Stress Disorder Imagery in World War II and Korean Combat Veterans," *Journal of Abnormal Psychology* 102:1 (February 1993), 158.
[213] Recent studies show that the manifestations of PTSD sometimes lessened over time, but became reinvigorated as veterans aged, experienced health problems, or had memories triggered by external stimuli. Snell and Padin-Rivera, "Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder and the Elderly Combat Veteran," 18.
[214] Many articles on PTSD note that the return of Vietnam War veterans provided impetus for studying and treating PTSD although it had been recognized after almost every American war. See Orr, et al., "Psychophysiological Assessment of Posttraumatic Stress Disorder Imagery in World War II and Korean Combat Veterans," 152; Snell and Padin-Rivera, "Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder and the Elderly Combat Veteran," 13 and 16; and Joel Sadavoy, "Survivors: A Review of the Late-Life Effects of Prior Psychological Trauma," *American Journal of Geriatric Psychiatry* 5:4 (1997), 288.

topic.[215] In response, Korean War veterans followed the lead of their sons and daughters of the Vietnam generation and began to attend meetings and address the problems that for so long they had tried to face alone. Suddenly, the government as well as doctors and researchers began to take a real interest, funding and conducting studies of Korean War veterans and the incidence of PTSD. These efforts showed that in sharp contrast to previous assumptions, Korean War veterans not only had symptoms of PTSD right after the war, but that these older veterans were still feeling the effects.[216] By the late 1980s, V.A. hospitals, like the one in Tampa, Florida, were accepting Korean War veterans at their PTSD clinics and actively sending out letters to find others in need of medical help or assistance in getting compensation. Many of those contacted had not dealt with the V.A. for years, if ever, and had no knowledge of the services or benefits available to them. "They are angry with the VA to begin with, and they're angry with the public. A lot of them have drinking problems, and they have a hell of a divorce rate. There's lots bottled up inside us because of what we went through, but nobody cares but us," or so they thought.[217] Thirty, forty, even fifty years after the battles that left them scarred and hurting, Korean War veterans suffering from PTSD finally began to reclaim their lives as civilians and heal.[218] Visiting the V. A. hospital in Fresno and attending sessions with a V. A. psychiatrist and PTSD

[215] Ralph David Fly, Memoir (Korean War Educator), 28. For an example of the kinds of articles they were reading, see David Gelman, "Treating War's Psychic Wounds," *Newsweek* 112:9 (29 August 1988), 62-64.
[216] One study decided that compared to about 19% of World War II veterans exhibiting current PTSD, some 30% of Korean War veterans did. Avron Spiro III, Paula P. Schnurr, and Carolyn M. Aldwin, "Combat-Related Posttraumatic Stress Disorder Symptoms in Older Men," *Psychology and Aging* 9:1 (March 1994), 18. Snell and Padin-Rivera put the percentage lower for Korean War veterans, at about 12%, but that estimate was of all living veterans, not just those seeking some sort of treatment. See "Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder and the Elderly Combat Veteran," 14. Another study suggests that the adjustment problems felt by Korean veterans were more severe than those experienced by World War II veterans. Edward W. McCranie and Leon A. Hyer, "Posttraumatic Stress Disorder Symptoms in Korean Conflict and World War II Combat Veterans Seeking Outpatient Treatment," *Journal of Traumatic Stress* 13:3 (2000), 436.
[217] Robert A. Maclean in Carlson, *Remembered Prisoners of a Forgotten War*, 31.
[218] See Billy Joe Harris and Robert A. Maclean in Carlson, *Remembered Prisoners of a Forgotten War*, 228 and 31 and Donald E. Barton, Army Service (Korean War) Questionnaire, continuation sheet, 2nd Division, 23rd Regiment, Alphabetical Box 1, Carlisle Barracks.

counselor, Tony Velasquez writes, "The nightmares, the flashbacks, the anger, depression and the guilt about the people I killed in Korea will never go away, but I am learning to control and to cope with my memories of the Forgotten War and my survival guilt."[219] As another veteran says, "The more you talk about it, the more you get rid of it."[220] Unfortunately, some men did not live to see the improvement that outside aid might have worked on their lives. In addition to the thousands who died of natural causes in the intervening decades, some veterans chose to commit suicide, often soon after coming home, or engaged in risky behaviors that ended with their untimely deaths.[221] Parents and friends were left to explain that their son "had returned from the wars much the worse for his experience" or that "he had been highly nervous since he was discharged from the Army more than a year ago."[222]

While many veterans languished after coming home, other returnees ultimately did find effective strategies for melting back into regular life and overcoming the trauma of war. After only three days home, Jack Jackson took a job driving a dump truck where his language and mannerisms would not offend anyone and where co-workers helped him acclimate to his new, old life. Within about a year he felt comfortable in polite society, unafraid that he would

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[219] Tony Velasquez to Paul Edwards, 1 May 2002, Box AAA, CFSOKW.
[220] Arthur Wilson in Richard T. Cooper, "Vets Still Conflicted Over Korea," *Los Angeles Times*, 19 January 2000, 1.
[221] Accounts of veteran suicides and attempted suicides appeared regularly in newspapers during and after the war. See "Man Long on High Ledge," *New York Times*, 11 May 1953, 16; "Sign of the Cross Halts Death Leap," *New York Times*, 3 June 1951, 34; "Vet in Death Leap From GW Bridge," *Pittsburgh Courier*, 8 March 1952, 1; and "Find Ex-GI's Body in Lake," *Pittsburgh Courier*, 13 February 1954, 1. Researchers note with interest that Korean veterans "reported greater psychiatric distress … than both the World War II and Vietnam veterans" in their studies and had a greater tendency toward "suicidality." McCranie and Hyer, "Posttraumatic Stress Disorder Symptoms in Korean Conflict and World War II Combat Veterans Seeking Outpatient Treatment," 430 and Alan Fontana and Robert Rosenheck, "Traumatic War Stressors and Psychiatric Symptoms Among World War II, Korean, and Vietnam Veterans," *Psychology and Aging* 9:1 (March 1994), 30-31. Fontana's article suggests a link between the greater distress of Korean War veterans and both the stigma placed on mental illness in the 1950s and the unpopularity of the conflict. POWs especially ended up dead before their time. When they first came home, almost every POW drank too much, had motorcycle accidents, went from woman to woman, or tried to kill themselves. According to one source, 20% of them did not survive the first decade after their return home. Peggy Himmelheber in Carlson, *Remembered Prisoners of a Forgotten War*, 227.
[222] "Find Ex-GI's Body in Lake," *Pittsburgh Courier*, 13 February 1954, 1. Hounded by the FBI, some POWs, like Jack Flanary, took their own lives. See "Tough Prisoners," *Time Magazine*, 21 September 1953, 28.

embarrass himself or someone else.[223] Gilbert Towner eventually "began reimmersing myself back in my culture, sweathouse, religion (Indian) and cultural events." Although still awakening "back in the war" at three each morning, Towner managed to create a lasting marriage and quit drinking.[224] Harold Mulhausen became a workaholic, a habit that created some other problems but kept his mind off the war.[225] His life "messed up" for several years, Clyde Queen got "the help of good people" and "got my life back and I turned out to be a good, and productive citizen."[226] Queen joined various veterans' organizations and made a career in federal law enforcement. Drinking heavily after his return, Douglas Anderson went to work on a remote ranch for a year where he began to heal, losing much of his bitterness.[227]

Perhaps no one single activity helped as many veterans recover from their wartime experiences when they first came home, though, as continuing to serve in the Armed Forces. Men who mustered out soon found themselves adrift in an unfamiliar and unwelcoming world full of strangers. "After being stateside for a total of 4 days, you no longer have the security of belonging to a known society of like persons, and you have been cast free into an unknown environment that seems alien for a long while."[228] Back home, "everything had changed including myself … [I] no longer fit in."[229] Also, no matter how much one had hated the rigor

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[223] Clarence Jackson "Jack" Davis (AFC2001/001/1644), Folder 1, Unpublished letters and postscript, 180, VHPC, AFC, LOC.
[224] Gilbert Towner, *Korean War Veteran Survey*, 6, CFSOKW.
[225] Harold L. Mulhausen, *Korean War Veteran Survey*, 7, CFSOKW.
[226] Clyde H. Queen, Sr. (AFC2001/001/10115), Folder 2, Written answers to Interview Questions, 6 May 2003, 14, VHPC, AFC, LOC.
[227] Douglas G. Anderson, Army Service (Korean War) Questionnaire, 18, 2nd Division, 23rd Regiment, Alphabetical Box 1, Carlisle Barracks. In fact many of the coping mechanisms mentioned above, such as indulging in overwork to keep the mind busy and seeking jobs where one could be alone often, were fairly typical of veterans. Snell and Padin-Rivera, "Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder and the Elderly Combat Veteran," 17.
[228] Clarence Jackson "Jack" Davis (AFC2001/001/1644), Folder 1, unpublished letters and postscript, 179-180, VHPC, AFC, LOC.
[229] Charles V. Alioto, Army Service (Korean War) Questionnaire, 18, 2nd Division, 23rd Regiment, Alphabetical Box 1, Carlisle Barracks.

and discipline of their particular service, military life proved a hard habit to break and those who did not stay in for a while had some degree of trouble ordering their own lives. "At first it seemed I couldn't make a decision for myself. I missed having some one tell me what to do."[230] But, the only way these new civilians could reclaim some part of what they felt they had lost was to make visits to nearby installations, "just to be in a military environment."[231] Returnees who re-upped or who had time left on their enlistments in general had an easier time adjusting after their return. They just "went to a new duty station and continued my career" without having to give much thought to the war they left behind.[232] And, they reentered a community where "we didn't need to say much to each other. Didn't need to, we both understood."[233] As Ralph Cutro observes, "It was nice to get back among Marines. We helped one another to adjust."[234] Similarly, Jack Wright found "when I got back with other Marines I settled down and began to feel comfortable around people again."[235] This sense of belonging, the unspoken acceptance of their peers, and the structure that continued military service provided all greatly aided in the successful transition from war to "normal" life for many Korean War veterans.[236]

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[230] Raymond Delcambre, Army Service (Korean War) Questionnaire, 18, 2nd Division, 23rd Regiment, Alphabetical Box 1, Carlisle Barracks. V.A. experts noted that many Korean War veterans seemed to be waiting for someone to tell them what to do. See George Barrett, "Portrait of the Korean Veteran," *New York Times Magazine*, 9 August 1953, 24.

[231] Edmund Krekorian in Knox and Coppel, *The Korean War: Uncertain Victory*, 362.

[232] Harry A. Matthews, *Korean War Veteran Survey*, 10, CFSOKW.

[233] Leonard Korgie on meeting a Marine who had been at Chosin Reservoir while on leave in Knox and Coppel, *The Korean War: Uncertain Victory*, 372.

[234] Ralph Cutro, *Korean War Veteran Survey*, 7, CFSOKW.

[235] Jack Wright in Knox and Coppel, *The Korean War: Uncertain Victory*, 359.

[236] See Carlson, *Remembered Prisoners of a Forgotten War*, 225. There is really no hard data to support the assertion that continued military service translated into an easier adjustment for veterans, but looking at collections of surveys, oral histories, and interviews available, it seems clear that those who stayed in generally seem to feel more positive about their adjustment. On surveys, career military men especially tend to say they had no trouble readjusting or something like "I was still in the service, so there wasn't any readjusting to perform." See Harry A. Matthews III, *Korean War Veteran Survey*, 11, CFSOKW and also Leonard DeBord, *Korean War Veteran Survey*, 5-6, CFSOKW and Philip C. Bolte, Army Service (Korean War) Questionnaire, 18, 1st Cavalry Division, Surnames A-L, Carlisle Barracks. Military life did have at least one drawback—one could not choose one's duty station. The Army, seeking to draw on the experience of Korean War veterans for cold weather training stationed a number of

Just as returnees had to deal with the emotional trauma of war after coming home, Korean War veterans often had to struggle with physical impairments and injuries. New medical techniques and modes of transportation pioneered in Korea ensured that men returned from this war with wounds that would have proven fatal in World War I or even World War II.[237] Doctors in the field perfected the use of type O blood and plasma, experimented with antibiotics, and began substituting arterial repair for amputation when treating severed arteries.[238] The military moved medical detachments closer to the front lines and began to use helicopters to transport the wounded more quickly.[239] As a result, only 2.5% of men wounded in Korea died compared to 4.5% in World War II.[240] Ironically, in some cases the lower mortality rate meant that instead of dying, Korea's wounded came home to live with more serious and unusual injuries than

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returnees at Pine Camp, New York. These returnees suffered from low morale and bitterness at having to spend another winter in the cold. "Pine Camp Shifts Korea Veterans," *New York Times*, 29 November 1951, 18.

[237] A good example of this is drop in the percent of men dying of penetrating and perforating wounds. In World War I, 27% of men with such casualties died, in World War II, 8.1% did, but at the Tokyo Army Hospital from 1950-1952, only .6% died. Furthermore, of those that survived during the Korean War, 80% recovered and were found fit for duty in 90 days or less. J. S. D. King and James H. Harris, "War Wounds of the Chest Among Marine and Naval Casualties in Korea," *Surgery, Gynecology, and Obstetrics*, 210, AR 0021, CFSOKW.

[238] In World War II, standard protocol for treating a severed artery was to tie it off so that a man didn't bleed to death. This usually led to amputation and not infrequently to a case of gangrene. Employing arterial repair, MASH units in Korea lowered the mortality rate from about 4% in World War II to less than 4/10 of 1% in Korea. Frank R. Denman, Interview by Jeffrey Albeldt in Havard, ed., *By Word of Mouth*, 7 and Dr. Hermes Grillo, Interview by G. Kurt Piehler and Crystal Dover, 8 July 2002, 39, Veterans' Oral History Project, Center for the Study of War and Society, University of Tennessee, Knoxville, TN. Also Otto F. Apel, Jr. and Pat Apel, *MASH: An Army Surgeon in Korea* (U.S.: University Press of Kentucky, 1998), 150-152.

[239] Though the system of military medicine in Korea followed the same general pattern as World War II, advancements were made, including the use of MASH hospitals located near enough the front to perform emergency surgery on men who could not survive further evacuation. For more on changes during the Korean War, see "Section VIII: Medical Care," (Bradley Commission): Records 1954-1958, A69-22 and 79-6, Box 61, DDE Library and Grillo, Interview by Piehler and Dover, 8 July 2002, 28-29.

[240] One author makes a solid connection between the use of the helicopter and survival. In World War II no rapid evacuation existed, in the Korean War 15% of the wounded were flown out by helicopter, and in Vietnam 90% were flown out. The mortality rate during the Vietnam War dropped to just 1% of those wounded. Len Morgan, "M*A*S*H Epilogue: The Story of the Popular TV Series Never Told, How the Helicopter Proved its Worth," *Flying* 110 (March 1983), 160-163.

anticipated.[241] Even if that were not the case, many of those who survived returned with medical conditions that would affect their health and well-being for life.

Among other things, returning Korean War veterans suffered from such obvious disabilities as amputated limbs, shrapnel buried in their body tissue, lost eyesight, diminished hearing, ruined teeth, paralysis, tuberculosis, bleeding ulcers, and the loss of fingers or toes from frostbite. After arriving home, many more became afflicted with bouts of malaria or other diseases, discovered that they had intestinal parasites, or simply realized that physically they were not the person they had been before going to Korea.[242] Those in the worst condition went immediately to Army or Navy hospitals where military staff members generally provided competent and compassionate care. Frank Muetzel, an amputee, remembers that nurses wined and dined patients at one base, welcoming them home with joyful, if unauthorized parties, and allowing them to use the Navy Officers' Club.[243] After mid-April 1953, some hospitalized returnees received an even bigger and more unexpected treat. President Eisenhower decided to deactivate the *U.S.S. Williamsburg,* giving it over to the Red Cross to provide one day cruises on

[241] More men came home with amputations and other crippling wounds, for example, from Korean than from World War II. Richard K. Kolb, "Korea's 'Invisible Veterans:' Return to an Ambivalent America," *Veterans of Foreign Wars Magazine* 85:3 (November 1997), 26.

[242] Once men returned from Korea and quit taking the pills to ward off malaria, many did in fact contract the disease. See Richard S. Homer, "Vivax Malaria Without Primary Attack in Korean Veterans," *U.S. Armed Forces Medical Journal* 8:3 (March 1957), 427-430; Fred B. Rogers, "Vivax Malaria in a Returned Korean Veteran," U.S. *Armed Forces Medical Journal* 6:11 (November 1955), 1657-1660; A. J. Moriarty, J.D. Lawrence, T. E. Hodgins, and B. C. Brown, " Vivax Malaria in Korean Veterans," *Treatment Services Bulletin* 7:8 (September 1952), 361-367; "Physicians Alerted on Soldiers' Malaria," *New York Times,* 10 August 1951, 13; and George W. Gatliffe, Memoir (Korean War Educator), 16. Other articles predicted leprosy outbreaks and charted intestinal parasites. "Predict Leprosy for Recent War Veterans," *Science New Letter* 66 (25 September 1954), 198 and Ryle A. Radke, "Incidence of Amebiasis in Korean Veterans," *U.S. Armed Forces Medical Journal* 3:2 (February 1952), 323.

[243] Frank Muetzel in Knox and Coppel, *The Korean War: Uncertain Victory,* 367-369.

the Potomac River for wounded veterans. On board, the Red Cross entertained their special guests with movies, music, guided tours, sun-bathing, lunch, and a picnic supper.[244]

Despite good medical care or special treatment, the spirits of wounded men could swing low. Muetzel felt shattered that his injuries signaled the end of his military career. A Marine since 1944 with little training other than as rifle platoon leader, "the separation from old friends and the life I'd chosen and loved came as a tremendous blow." Similarly, having lost a leg, Richard Newman found his "will to live was down to about zero."[245] Once men left the hospital, they faced more hardship as they discovered what men who returned home right after the war already knew—that the American public and government had little interest in the Korean War or in those who had fought it. Muetzel found a Silver Star on his bed after returning to the hospital from a party with nothing but a cover letter attached saying that it had been "delivered with appropriate ceremony" and, at the Bank of America, a loan officer who saw Muetzel hobble in on crutches wearing his uniform and ribbons denied him a new car loan, saying, "I see you want to go back to school. You won't need a car there, anyway."[246]

For those healthy enough to process out without directly entering a hospital or rehabilitation center, healing could take longer and come at far greater cost. The V.A. remained the "best kept secret" from veterans who received little information about it at discharge.[247] And, even those with service-connected wounds or disabilities who knew where to go didn't always receive the kind of care to which they were entitled. Developed during World War I and

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[244] Edward L. Beach, "Memorandum for the Record: Deactivation of the U.S.S. Williamsburg," 11 April 1953; J.T. Burke, Jr., "Memorandum for the President," 28 April 1953; and Dwight D. Eisenhower to Commander J.T. Burke, Jr., 1 May 1953, Central Files, Official File, OF 101-4 1956, Box 413, DDE Library.
[245] Muetzel in Knox and Coppel, *The Korean War: Uncertain Victory*, 370 and Richard Newman in Henry Berry, *Hey Mac, Where Ya Been? Living Memories of the U.S. Marines in the Korean War* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1988), 241.
[246] Muetzel in Knox and Coppel, *The Korean War: Uncertain Victory*, 369- 371.
[247] Robert Newell, *Korean War Veteran Survey*, 10, CFSOKW.

later expanded to care for veterans with service-related medical problems, the veterans' hospital system proved woefully inadequate at ministering to the needs of veterans in the 1950s.[248] Cost cutting measures and administrative wrangling during and after Korea led to the closure of various hospitals and the resignations of many V.A. doctors just as more of both were needed handle the influx of casualties coming out of the Far East.[249] As a result, would-be patients had to wait for service.[250] Arriving home in September, former POW Shorty Estabrook, who now considers himself "medically dumped," did not get de-wormed until November.[251] Richard Curtis, a veteran of both World War II and the Korean War, could not get a hospital bed for the treatment of alcoholism and mental illness until his brother obtained the intervention of James C. Hagerty, President Eisenhower's press secretary, in 1959.[252] Edward McAllister's wait finally ended when he collapsed and died at a construction site where he was working during a two-week delay in admittance by the Veterans' Administration for service-connected hypertension and heart disease.[253]

Other veterans of Korea would wait far longer, years or decades more, before receiving V.A. treatment. Although recruiters had promised many volunteers "in no uncertain terms, free medical care for the rest of our lives," such guarantees went unfulfilled once a person separated

[248] National Academy of Sciences, National Research Council, *Study of Health Care for American Veterans* (U.S.: United States Government Printing Office, 1977), 4.
[249] The commander of a Canton, Ohio Amvets post, noting the increased number of men and women taken into the Armed Forces during the Korean War, wrote Senator Robert Taft about the need to keep the V.A. office there open. "We believe that the actual veteran population of Stark County is increasing rather than decreasing. Hence, it would seem that the need for medical and dental departments at the local Veterans Administration office is more necessary at the present time than ever before." Paul Beitzel to Robert Taft, 23 July 1951, Taft Papers, Box 1077, LOC.
[250] For more V.A. troubles and changes in veteran medical care in the 1950s see "Doctors' Revolt," *Newsweek* 39 (25 February 1952),64-67; Lois Mattox Miller and James Monahan, "Veterans' Medicine: Back in the Doldrums," *The Reader's Digest* 58:350 (June 1951), 89-93; and "Section VIII: Medical Care (1)," (Bradley Commission): Records 1954-1958, A69-22 and 79-6, Box 61, DDE Library.
[251] Emails Shorty Estabrook to Melinda Pash, 29 July 2004 and 5 August 2004, in author's possession.
[252] See Series of letters dealing with Richard J. Curtis, Central Files, General File 125-K 1958, Box 934, DDE Library.
[253] "Veteran Denied VA Hospital Care, Dies," *Baltimore Afro-American*, 13 September 1952, 5.

from the Armed Forces after Korea.[254] At least initially, V.A. hospitals required that men and women, except service-disabled and impoverished veterans, give proof that the condition they were seeking treatment for was service-connected. Not infrequently that turned out to be an impossible task. Thousands of men suffered cold injuries at Chosin Reservoir, but at the time there were too many casualties of a more immediate nature for doctors or corpsmen to document frostbite cases.[255] Similarly, by the end of a battle in which one sustained injuries, there might be no one left able to verify the combat-related nature of their wounds. The V.A. x-rayed Gilbert Towner, finding shrapnel residue in each place where he was wounded, but without four people to sign an affidavit that he had been shot in the war, Towner was left to fight the V.A. for the next 27 years to "get almost what I think I deserve."[256] Frostbite victims fared worse. Men whose toes or fingers peeled off with their boots or gloves as a result of exposure to the bitter cold of Korea did receive medical care at the time, but the V.A. denied that cold injury problems did not end there. As men whose feet or hands had frozen in the war came forward later as aging veterans with throbbing feet, phlebitis, skin cancer, tingling fingers and toes, peeling skin, fungal infections, night pains, arthritis, misshapen toenails, joint deterioration, and other long-term conditions stemming from frostbite, the V.A. declined to help them. Too often, veterans of the war in Korea simply accepted the denial of their claims. Instead of exploding and declaring that "no chair-bound jerk in Washington is going to pull that stuff on him"—as World War II

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[254] Bruce Satra, *Korean War Veteran Survey*, 10, CFSOKW. Satra claims to have signed a paper in basic training which guaranteed him lifetime medical care. In 2002, a federal appeals court finally denied the claims of World War II and Korean War veterans who sued for the medical care promised them even though the government conceded that such promises had been made, basing the decision on grounds that no valid contract existed because such assurances were not backed by law at the time. Curt Anderson, "Appeals Court Denies Lifetime Health Care for WWII, Korean Veterans," *The Associated Press News Service*, 20 November 2002, online at http://infoweb.newsbank.com.

[255] Michael Doyle, "Veterans Win 'Cold War' for Health Benefits," *Fresno Bee*, 25 May 1997, A22 and "Out Front: Aging World War II, Korea Vets Finally Compensated for Frostbite's Ills," *Boston Globe Online*, 6 April 1997, Vertical Files, "Frostbite," CFSOKW.

[256] Gilbert Towner, *Korean War Veteran Survey*, 9, CFSOKW.

veterans would have done—Korean War veterans left the V. A. office with a "Yes, Sir" and little by way of questions.[257]

Ultimately, though, the V.A. did make hospitals and doctors available to more Korean War veterans. In May 1951, the V. A. hospital in Tucson, Arizona refused to treat David Arellano, a former Marine who served five months in combat in Korea as a bazooka-squad gunner, for a throat infection because it was not service-connected. The hospital manager noted that he had seen several similar cases and while sympathetic could do nothing to help because the United States is "not at war in Korea, so these men are not eligible for treatment" as war veterans.[258] Widely circulated, Arellano's story outraged the public and prompted President Truman to call a press conference and urge Congress to remedy the technicality in the law. Within a week, a new bill signed by Truman guaranteed Korean War veterans "all benefits of hospital and domiciliary care, compensation or pensions, and burial benefits for themselves and their dependents as provided for persons who served during the period of World War II."[259] Much later, those who sustained frostbite in Korea finally got satisfaction. After intense lobbying on the part of the veterans themselves, the government finally conceded the long-term health effects of exposure to cold and in the late 1990s began to offer free medical care and monthly checks to veterans of both World War II and Korea who served at places like Chosin Reservoir in the winter of 1950. V. A. sources conceded "I don't know how anyone could have been there and not had frostbite given the conditions: the bitter cold, the lack of protective gear,

[257] Barrett, "Portrait of the Korean Veteran," 26.
[258] "Loophole in the Law," *Newsweek* 37:21 (21 May 1951), 27.
[259] "Korea G.I. Is 'War' Veteran," *Special to the New York Times,* 13 May 1951, B10 and "Benefits for Korea Veterans Voted After Hospital Bars an Ex-Marine," *Special to the New York Times,* 11 May 1951, 1.

the constant combat. Half the casualties were due to the cold. Frozen Chosen is right."[260] Furthermore, these would not need further evidence that their problems were service-connected.[261] Such changes opened up V.A. medical care to thousands of Korean War veterans, but even so not everyone benefited. Some died before becoming eligible for treatment, the V. A. continued to deny the claims of others, and many Korean War veterans simply chose not to use available V. A. resources.[262] Perhaps because of early difficulties in getting V. A. assistance, the widespread feeling that American troops had "lost" the war in Korea, or the upbringing of men and women raised to shoulder their own problems and not take "handouts," Korean War veterans, unique among American war veterans, did not flock to use V. A. care after serving in the war zone or in combat.[263]

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[260] "Undersecretary for Health's Information Letter: Recommendations for the Care and Examination of Veterans with Late Onset Effects of Cold Injuries," 31 December 1996, Vertical Files, "Frostbite," CFSOKW.

[261] Jonathan Bor, "Korean War Cold Cripples Again," *Baltimore Sun,* 14 April 1996, 1A and "Out Front: Aging World War II, Korea Vets Finally Compensated for Frostbite's Ills," *Boston Globe Online,* 6 April 1997, Vertical Files, "Frostbite," CFSOKW.

[262] Augie Garcia, diagnosed with throat cancer, believed his cancer to be related to a direct hit he took while in his bunker in Korea. Although he received a Purple Heart for wounds sustained then, his records were destroyed in a fire and photos did not provide "enough proof of his injury to qualify [him] fro any kind of medical assistance." Augie Garcia in Don Boxmeyer, *A Knack for Knowing Things: Stories from St. Paul Neighborhoods and Beyond* (St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society Press, 2003), 157. Verlin Rogers, having drunk contaminated water in Korea believes his current medical problems stem from that, but with nothing in his records to confirm it, the V. A. refuses to treat him. Verlin N. Rogers, Army Service (Korean War) Questionnaire, 20, 1st Cavalry Division, Surnames M-Z, Carlisle Barracks.

[263] In earlier wars, returning soldiers who served in the war theater or in battle became more likely to use V. A. health care services. This was not true for Korean War veterans who in fact over a lifetime used the V. A. far less than the veterans of other wars. Robert Rosenheck, "Wartime Military Service and Utilization of VA Health Care Services," *Military Medicine* 158:4 (April 1993), 223-228. Also, Bruce Satra, *Korean War Veteran Survey,* 8, CFSOKW. Vietnam veterans were most likely to avail themselves of V. A. medical care, preferring it over other types of general care. JoAnn Damron-Rodriguez, Whitney White-Kazemipour, Donna Washington, Valentine M. Villa, Shawkat Dhanani, and Nancy D. Harada, "Accessibility and Acceptability of the Department of Veteran Affairs Health Care: Diverse Veterans' Perspectives," *Military Medicine* 169:3 (March 2004), 244. In this study, Korean War veterans said that the V. A. needed to make people feel more welcome. In 1957, only 89,000 Korean veterans compared to 385,000 World War II and 368, 000 World War I veterans occupied hospital beds. By 1986, Korean veterans in hospitals outnumbered World War I veterans 413,000 to 92,000, but World War II veteran patients numbered 1,399,000. "Table 7," IV-11, Central Files, Official File, OF55-B-1 1959-60, Box 246, Folder "55-B-1 1959-60," DDE Library.

Whether or not one managed to get V. A. or other medical care, not all wounds and injuries could be fixed, leaving a number of veterans to cope with altered bodies and altered lives. Arms, legs, fingers, toes, and whatever else had been lost in the war zone could not just be glued back on and a host of other things would never mend either. Processing out, officials told Arthur Smith to just sign the papers and list everything that was wrong with him and "we'll take care of it." Three years later, at age 22, Smith had a lingering back problem, frostbitten feet, shrapnel coming out of his skin, false teeth, and cuts on his face which prevented him from shaving. Nobody could make Smith like he had been before the war or stop the grief these changes brought to him on a daily basis.[264] His feet blasted off by a mortar in Korea, Ted Hofsiss, still a teenager, would never run again, instead enduring pain for the rest of his life from his wounds whenever he tried to walk.[265] Afflicted with bleeding ulcers from his turn in Korea, another veteran would almost die from his service-related ailment and eventually have to quit working altogether because of it.[266] William Dannenmaier never entirely recovered his hearing and fifty years after the war noted that he still had problems with his teeth.[267] Robert Casella, who stayed on in Korea after the truce, developed an eating disorder which continues to cause him to awaken late at night and rush to the kitchen to eat, allaying feelings of starvation.[268] Perhaps unaware of the extent of their injuries when they returned home, other veterans fell victim in the years after Korea to cancer caused by the DDT used to delouse them, smoking-related cancers rooted in the addiction to cigarettes they started smoking while in service, and

[264] Arthur Smith, Memoir (Korean War Educator), 18.
[265] Email Ted Hofsiss to Janell Coppage, 24 April 1999, Box FF, Folder A0958, CFSOKW.
[266] Pamela Moate to Dr. Edwards, 27 May 2001, Box VV, Folder A1485, CFSOKW.
[267] Dannenmaier, *We Were Innocents*, 226.
[268] Kelly O. Beaucar, "Korean War Vets…The Forgotten Ones," *The New Britain Herald* (CT), 14 June 1998, online at infoweb@newsbank.com.

age related problems due to exposure and frostbite.[269] At the 1985 first meeting of the Chosin Few, a veterans' group composed of Army and Marine veterans who survived the Chinese attack at Chosin Reservoir, men noticed that "everybody was having problems walking, getting up." They marveled that they shared symptoms like excessive sweating, infected tissue, skin cancer, oddly shaped toenails, sore legs, swollen feet, and sensitivity to cold.[270] Despite the V.A.'s reluctance to recognize late onset cold injury symptoms as service-related, these men "had their lives compromised by this injury."[271] Before help became available in the 1990s, they used Krazy Glue to fill cracks in their feet and stuffed maxi-pads in their shoes to absorb the weeping fluid.[272] Similarly, POWs, who had survived unimaginable privations in North Korean or Chinese camps, often never fully recovered from the effects of malnutrition, diseases like beriberi and pellagra, cold injury, long marches, and primitive wound care. In fact, follow-up studies show that even 12 years after their release Korean POWs exhibited excess morbidity, disability, and adjustment problems when compared to civilians, non-POW veterans, and the POWs of other wars.[273] Undeniably and irreversibly, the Korean War etched its mark on the minds, bodies, and lives of those who participated in it.

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[269] Studies have been done in other countries confirming a higher incidence of DDT and smoking-related cancers among Korean War veterans, but not in the United States. However, there is no reason to assume that American soldiers were immune to the health risks affecting men of other nations. See Chris Wattie, "Vets Demand Recourse for 'Abuse': Korean War Survivors: Soldiers Doused in DDT Denied Pensions, Dying 'Far Too Young,'" *National Post* (Canada), 5 May 2004, A4 and "Study Confirms Higher Incidence of Smoking-Related Cancers Among Korean Veterans," M2 Presswire, 2 December 2003, available online at www.presswire.net.

[270] Ernie "Pappy" Pappenheimer in Jonathan Bor, "Korean War Cold Cripples Again," *Baltimore Sun*, 14 April 1996, 1A.

[271] Dr. Murray Hamlet in "Out Front: Aging World War II, Korea Vets Finally Compensated for Frostbite's Ills," *Boston Globe Online*, 6 April 1997, Vertical Files, "Frostbite," CFSOKW.

[272] Michael Doyle, "Veterans Win 'Cold War' for Health Benefits," *Fresno Bee*, 25 May 1997, A22.

[273] Robert J. Keehn, "Follow-Up Studies of World War II and Korean Conflict Prisoners," *American Journal of Epidemiology* 111:2 (February 1980), 194-211. This study also shows that in general the mortality rate of Korean War veterans (1.03) was slightly higher than World War II veterans (.99).

Public Law 550, Compensation, and the Korean Veteran

Living with the aftereffects of war and enjoying little by way of acknowledgment for their sacrifices, many Korean War veterans wanted some sort of compensation for what they had lost performing their duty to country.[274] Remembering World War II's G.I. Bill, 81% of those who had served overseas felt entitled to the same educational opportunities afforded earlier veterans and another 78% believed that the government should offer their generation low-cost home loans.[275] Even veterans who thought that Uncle Sam owed nothing to the able-bodied or able-minded believed that service-disabled veterans should receive compensation in addition to medical care. Congressmen and senators seemed to agree that veterans of the war in Korea, like their World War II predecessors, were due something from the government in gratitude for their service. Asking the House of Representatives in 1952 to extend all the benefits of the original G.I. Bill to Korean veterans, Congressman Thomas J. Lane of Massachusetts argued, "They fought for us and are coming home to us. Only a year and a half has been taken from their lives

[274] Like both World War I and World War II veterans, Korean War veterans in general felt entitled only to benefits related to helping them recover from injuries or handicaps (physical, economic, or other) related to their service. For instance, the Bradley Commission found that 90% of men who served in the Far East believed that they should receive free medical care for illnesses or injuries connected with their service, but only 22% felt that they should get free medical care for "any illness or injury whatsoever." Similarly, 83% thought they should be able to get back their job from before the war when they returned, but only 35% favored veterans' preference in getting government jobs. Only 15% wanted pensions for life. "Study of Veterans Attitudes, Roper Poll (2)," (Bradley Commission): Records 1954-1958, A69-22 and 79-6, Box 63, DDE Library.

[275] Congress, House, President's Commission on Veterans' Pensions, *Veterans in Our Society: Data on the Conditions of Military Service and on the Status of the Veteran*, 125, 84th Congress, 2nd sess., Committee Print 261, Staff Report No. IV, 21 June 1956 (Washington, D.C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1956). A survey of World War II and Korean Conflict veterans taken earlier found that almost 96% of veterans favored extension of the G.I. Bill's educational benefits to veterans of the war in Korea. Roy N. Chelgren, "An Attitude Survey Concerning the Provision of Educational Benefits for Korean Veterans," *School and Society* 76: 1969 (13 September 1952), 170.

according to the calendar … however, we can not reckon the extent of their displacement, or the rehabilitation that may be required."[276]

However, though agitation and efforts to pass G.I. Bill-type legislation for Korean War veterans began almost as soon as the war, just who should receive benefits and what benefits should be granted remained a source of contention for years both in Congress and in the public arena.[277] Almost everyone conceded that "adequate benefits should be provided for those who have disabilities which are related to their military service" and that men and women who continued to serve in the Armed Forces beyond the Korean War era should not be eligible for participation in "readjustment" programs. [278] Beyond that, a wide range of opinions existed. Some people argued the unfairness of giving assistance to veterans not possessed of any special physical or financial hardship since this created a favored class of citizens who would be better off in their old age than other Americans.[279] Others suggested that only those men and women who "bled and suffered in Korea, in the waters around it, or in the air over it" should receive government aid. Still more pointed out that "servicemen and women are "subject to orders" and insisted that all Korean-War era veterans be the beneficiaries of legislation related to veteran readjustment no matter where they completed their tours of duty.[280]

Ideas about what benefits Korean War veterans should receive ran the gamut from offering an extension of the World War II G.I. Bill in its entirety to Korean veterans to providing

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[276] Congressman Thomas Lane of Massachusetts in *Congressional Record* (House), 82nd Congress, 2nd sess., volume 98, part 1 (8 January 1952-25 February 1952), 47.
[277] For an example of an early call for benefits to be provided to Korean War veterans, see Senator Harry P. Cain of Washington in *Congressional Record* (Senate), 81st Congress, 2nd sess., volume 96, part 7 (14 June 1950-11 July 1950), 9790.
[278] James L. Donnelly ? (name illegible), Executive Vice-President of the Illinois Manufacturers' Association to President Eisenhower, 1 September 1959, Central Files, General File, GF 125-I 1959 (3), Box 932, DDE Library.
[279] Resentments of veteran benefits continued to build through the 1950s on this point. See John E. Booth, "Veterans: Our Biggest Privileged Class," *Harper's Magazine* 217 (July 1958), 19-25.
[280] Senators Lister Hill of Alabama and H. Styles Bridges of New Hampshire, Washington in *Congressional Record* (Senate), 82nd Congress, 2nd sess., volume 98, part 7 (28 June 1952-7 July 1952), 8412-8413.

them with a pared down version of it to offering them no special programs at all. Only two weeks after the start of hostilities in Korea, the chairman of the House Committee on Veterans' Affairs began to solicit advice from veterans' organizations, federal agencies, and educational associations "on the desirability of extending readjustment benefits to veterans of the Korean Conflict." With most responses favorable to offering Korean veterans something, the House of Representatives on August 19, 1950 established a Select Committee to Investigate the Educational Program under the G.I. Bill to better inform their debate on what these new veterans should receive.[281] Known as the Teague Committee, after its chairman Congressman Olin E. Teague of Texas, this group found that while "legions of veterans availed themselves of the educational and training benefits under the G.I. Bill," the program had been "marked by errors, abuses, waste, managerial inefficiency, and in some instances, corruption and larceny."[282] The Teague Committee recommended that a new G.I. Bill be written for veterans of the Korean Conflict and that it include various safeguards to protect against some of the troubles encountered in the administration of the World War II G.I. Bill.[283]

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[281] Congress, House, President's Commission on Veterans' Pensions, *Readjustment Benefits: General Survey and Appraisal: A Report on Veterans' Benefits in the United States*, 150-151, 84th Congress, 2nd sess., Committee Print 289, Staff Report No. IX Part A, 11 September 1956 (Washington, D.C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1956.

[282] George P. Perros, compiler, "Preliminary Inventory of the Records of the House Select Committee to Investigate Educational, Training, and Loan Guaranty Programs under GI Bill 1950-52" (Washington, D.C.: National Archives and Records Services General Services Administration, 1957), 2.

[283] Specifically, the Teague Committee recommended time constraints for both the start and completion of educational and training programs, the direct payment of money to veterans rather than to schools, limitations on school eligibility to receive G.I. Bill money, new standards on the type of schooling eligible for consideration under the G.I. Bill program, and more veteran accountability for making progress in a program. Congress, House, President's Commission on Veterans' Pensions, *Readjustment Benefits: General Survey and Appraisal: A Report on Veterans' Benefits in the United States*, 150-154, 84th Congress, 2nd sess., Committee Print 289, Staff Report No. IX Part A, 11 September 1956 (Washington, D.C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1956; Sidney Shalett, " How Our Tax Dollars Are Wasted," *Saturday Evening Post* 224 (24 May 1952), 12; and Congress, House, House Select Committee to Investigate Educational, Training, and Loan Guaranty Programs Under GI Bill, House Report No. 1375, 1-2 and 78-81, 82nd Congress, 2nd sess., 11 February 1952 in *House Reports, Volume 5* (Washington, D.C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1952). Private colleges, fearful that most veterans would choose a less expensive public institution if paying tuition themselves, lobbied hard for the "Springer Amendment" which would have required the government to split subsistence and tuition payments so that veterans only received their portion

On July 14, 1952, the Korean G.I. Bill emerged as Public Law 550 "to provide vocational readjustment and to restore lost educational opportunities to" men and women who served in the Armed Forces after June 27, 1950 and separated from the military under other than dishonorable conditions after at least 90 days active service.[284] Less generous in terms of time and money than the World War II G.I. Bill, Public Law 550 did make educational and training benefits, unemployment compensation, mustering-out pay, and free assistance in finding jobs available to Korean War veterans. With regard to education, Korean veterans earned 1.5 months of assistance for each month spent on active duty not to exceed 36 months. Rather than splitting monthly payments between schools and veterans, as had been the case for World War II veterans, the government directly paid this new wave of G.I. students monthly stipends meant to cover tuition and living expenses. Those returning to school full time received between $110 and $160 a month depending upon the number of their dependents and on-the-job and farm trainees got from $70 to $130 a month. Regulations allowed veterans to use Korean G.I. Bill funds to pursue college or high school degrees or to obtain farm or other institutional or on-the-job training, but not to pay for bartending, dancing, photography, music, athletic, or public speaking courses except as part of an approved degree program. Forced to declare an educational goal to the V.A. before embarking on any sort of training through the G.I. Bill, Korean veterans could only change their course of study once and enroll at schools which had been in operation at least two years and which had no more than 85% of students receiving G.I.

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directly, but this failed to pass. See Congressman Olin E. Teague in *Congressional Record—Appendix (House)*, 82nd Congress, 2nd sess., volume 98 (January 1952-July 1952), A3901-A3905 and 3993.

[284] The 90 days active service requirement was waived for men discharged for injuries or disabilities sustained as a result of their service. *Public Law 550*, 82nd Congress, 2nd sess., *United States Statutes at Large* (Washington, D.C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1953), 663. Men and women who remained on active duty seven years or more past the Korean service period lost their rights to the G.I. Bill. "Summary of Actions Which have had the Effect of Decreasing Incentives from Military Service," 4, Central Files, General File, GF 120, Box 700, DDE Library.

Bill money.[285] Under these new restrictions, the Korean veteran found that the "field [was] narrower than his brother had after World War II."[286]

Still, Americans anticipated that Korean War veterans would flock to college campuses and other schools after the passage of their G.I. Bill just as those returning from the Second World War had done. But, despite rumors in the summer of 1953 of high numbers of enrollments and predictions that "their numbers will swell before the approaching fall semester," the expected deluge of Korean War G.I. students did not materialize.[287] When the fall semester of 1953 opened, journalists marveled that "Korean War veterans are not taking advantage of the Korean G.I. Bill of Rights with nearly the alacrity that veterans of World War II showed in respect to the original G.I. bill of rights."[288] Returning to school, thinking that "Korean War veterans would soon flood college campuses and that we would reprise roles played in 1946-50 by returning World War II veterans," veterans discovered the same thing. Throughout their training or schooling, Korean veterans found that they did not attend "in large enough numbers

[285] For Korean G.I. Bill specifics, see *Public Law 550*, 82nd Congress, 2nd sess., *United States Statutes at Large* (Washington, D.C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1953), 663-691; "The New GI Bill: Who Gets What," *Changing Times* (May 1953), 21-23; "We've Been Asked: About Benefits for New GI's," *U.S. News and World Report* (11 July 1952), 82-83; and "Veterans Under the New Law," *The Personnel and Guidance Journal* 31 (October 1952), 42-43.

[286] "More Billions for GI Schooling," *U.S. News and World Report* 31 31 August 1951), 30-31. Many differences existed between the World War II and Korean G.I. Bills. Under the World War II G.I. Bill, the basic entitlement of veterans was one year plus active duty time instead of 1.5 times their active duty, the maximum basic entitlement was 48 months rather than 36 months, veterans had 4 years after their release from service to begin school instead of 3, they were eligible for benefits for 9 years rather than 8, they received up to $500 a year for tuition in addition to monthly subsistence payments ranging from $50 to $75, could change their course of study before commencement, were initially permitted to enroll in recreational courses, and were considered full time students with only 12 credit hours rather than 14. Kenneth Edward Fisher, *A Comparative Analysis of Selected Congressional Documents Related to Educational Benefits Legislated for the Veterans of World War II, the Korean Conflict, and the Vietnam Era Under the G.I. Bill* (Ph.D. diss., The Florida State University, June 1975),Table 9.

[287] "333,000 Korea Vets Cast Fond Eye at GI Bill," *Army Times*, 4 July 1953, 1.

[288] Paul P. Kennedy, "Korea G.I.'s Slow in Taking Benefits," *New York Times*, 30 August 1953, 8. See also Howard A. Rusk, "Public Apathy to Korea G.I.'s Slows Their Benefit Claims," *New York Times*, 27 September 1953, 4.

to know and recognize each other" and did not get "the same feeling of respect from students or faculty accorded to the World War II veteran."[289]

Certainly, the 5.7 million Korean War veterans eligible for G.I. Bill benefits could not have the numerical impact on schools that 15.6 million World War II veterans had simply because there were fewer of them.[290] Less easy to explain, though, is why, when 7.8 million or about 50% of World War II veterans took advantage of training and educational benefits, only 2.4 million or about 42% of Korean War veterans did.[291] In the 1950s, reporters and others posited a number of reasonable explanations for this apparent failure of Korean War veterans to use the educational benefits granted them. Howard Rusk suggested that these younger veterans of Korea did not receive the same type of indoctrination in their rights and benefits upon separation from the military that the older and perhaps more worldly World War II veterans got and thus did not even know about the various programs funded by the government.[292] This makes some degree of sense as the law did in fact prohibit the V.A. from approaching veterans to "inform them of their personal status in the veterans' benefit program," limiting officials to responding only to individuals who sought them out first.[293] Private groups, like Veterans Benefit Inc. of Memphis, Tennessee, formed to help veterans learn about and apply for benefits,

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[289] Charles F. Cole, *Korea Remembered: Enough of a War: The USS Ozbourn's First Korean Tour, 1950-1951* (Las Cruces, NM: Yucca Tree Press, 1995), 272-273. World War II veterans had a far greater sense of community and belonging when they returned to school. See Mary L. Dee, "We Lived in GI Town," *Coronet* 32:1 (May 1952), 62-66.

[290] Fisher, *A Comparative Analysis of Selected Congressional Documents Related to Educational Benefits Legislated for the Veterans of World War II, the Korean Conflict, and the Vietnam Era Under the G.I. Bill*, 32.

[291] *Ibid.* The numbers on this vary somewhat. In 1956, the Bradley Commission found that only 35.5% of Korean War veterans had used educational benefits compared to 47.7% of World War II veterans, but separated out men and women who served in both wars, 52.2% of whom had used their G.I. Bill for school. Congress, House, President's Commission on Veterans' Pensions, *Readjustment Benefits: General Survey and Appraisal: A Report on Veterans' Benefits in the United States*, 82, 84th Congress, 2nd sess., Committee Print 289, Staff Report No. IX Part A, 11 September 1956 (Washington, D.C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1956).

[292] Howard A. Rusk, "Public Apathy to Korea G.I.'s Slows Their Benefit Claims," *New York Times*, 27 September 1953, L4.

[293] See Congressman Olin E. Teague in *Congressional Record—Appendix (House)*, 84th Congress, 2nd sess., volume 102 (January 1956-July 1956), A75.

but undoubtedly many Korean War veterans never knew about any of the entitlements bestowed on them by Congress.[294] Also, as Benjamin Fine pointed out, a number of Korean War veterans did not need Korean G.I. Bill-funded training. The post-Korea economic climate, while slowed some by the war, still had enough health to make it relatively "easy for the veterans to get jobs." Furthermore, about a million veterans of the Korean War had served in World War II, enabling them to use the first G.I. Bill, and thousands of others had taken deferments and completed their educations before entering the military.[295]

The stipulations of the Korean G.I. Bill also made educational and training benefits less attractive to veterans than if Congress had tailored this piece of legislation to more closely resemble the original G.I. Bill. In trying to curb corruption and waste, Congress inadvertently made it more difficult for Korean veterans to opt for government subsidized G.I. schooling. While paying veterans directly had seemed the perfect remedy for bloated tuition bills, since schools would have to compete for the dollars of frugal G.I.s, stipends seldom kept pace with inflation. Writing his parents in 1952, one Marine bemoaned the fact that while he had 36 months of college coming to him, the $110 dollars a month allotted by the government fell far short of his current $450 a month salary.[296] Female veterans had greater reason to complain. Male veterans automatically received extra monthly pay for their wives and children, but female veterans, even those with dependent spouses, did not qualify under the law for any addition to

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[294] The V.B.I. helped veterans with all types of claims including disability compensation, pensions, GI loans, insurance, and government employment. "New Memphis Claims Service Helps Solve Vets' Problems," *Pittsburgh Courier*, 8 June 1957, 4.

[295] Benjamin Fine, "Few Korea G.I.'s Going to College," *New York Times*, 4 October 1954, 27 and Benjamin Fine, "Korean War Veterans are not Flocking to Colleges as They Were Expected to Do," *New York Times*, 24 October 1954, E9. Also Congress, House, President's Commission on Veterans' Pensions, *Readjustment Benefits: General Survey and Appraisal: A Report on Veterans' Benefits in the United States*, 164, 84th Congress, 2nd sess., Committee Print 289, Staff Report No. IX Part A, 11 September 1956 (Washington, D.C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1956).

[296] John Walker Hatcher (AFC2001-001-1428), Letter to parents, 4 September 1952, Folder 1, *Mission Log and Letters From Korea 1952*, 62, VHPC, AFC, LOC

their allowances.[297] Facing budget crunches, Korean veterans regularly petitioned lawmakers for more money, charging that rising school fees and increased costs of living made it impossible to live on G.I. allowances. By and large such pleas fell on deaf ears, putting degrees and certificates out of reach for some financially strapped veterans.[298]

Additionally, Congress's attempt to exclude fly-by-night operations by limiting G.I.s to institutions with student bodies composed of no more than 85% G.I. Bill students hampered their enrollment. With so many men and women taking advantage of the two G.I. Bills and so few other students willing or able to pay their own tuition and expenses, many colleges as well as other types of schools had great difficulty maintaining the mandated ratio of 15% tuition-paying students. This had devastating consequences. Like other institutions, a popular tailoring school in Jacksonville, Florida had no choice but to relegate many Korean War G.I. applicants to a waiting list which in some instances moved their entrance date beyond the termination of their eligibility for benefits. Thus blocked from pursuing their chosen fields of training, Korean veterans could do little else but decide upon another course of study, using up their one-time change of objective, or write their congressmen and senators that, "I answered the call of my Country to protect it and all of its civilians and I do not feel that it is fair and right for me to be denied the privilege of better preparing myself to be a more useful citizen because of the fact that a sufficient number of the citizens I fought to protect do not care to go to school."[299] In

[297] This injustice was finally corrected in 1972 with Public Law 93-540. June A. Willentz, *Women Veterans: America's Forgotten Heroines* (New York: Continuum, 1983), 193.
[298] See Henry Aldous Dixon in *Congressional Record—Appendix (House)*, 84th Congress, 2nd sess., volume 102 (January 1956-July 1956), A2143. Also see Benjamin Fine, "Educators Back Korean Veterans," *New York Times*, 15 January 1954, 2 and Benjamin Fine, "Veterans of Korea Flock to Colleges Under U.S. Grants," *New York Times*, 14 September 1953, 1.
[299] Roy Willis to Senator Charles E. Bennett, 26 March 1953, NA, RG 233, Box 2022. See William E. Armstead to Charles E. Bennett, 26 March 1953; Roy Willis to Senator A. S. Herlong, 26 March 1953; C. E. Dye to George Long, 20 March 1953; Maurice Callum to Congresswoman Edith N. Rogers, 30 March 1953; and Nathan B. Spiro to Congresswoman Edith Nourse Rogers, 16 July 1954 in this same collection for further examples of men unable to

particular, African American veterans suffered under this Korean G.I. Bill restriction. Effectively barred from enrolling in many "white" schools and subjected to discriminatory quota systems, black veterans often had to try to gain entrance into black colleges or trade schools and programs. But, even more than Americans in general, the black non-veteran population could not afford to pay their own fees and many segregated institutions could not attract enough tuition-paying students to make their programs viable options for those wishing to use the Korean G.I. Bill, making it even more difficult for black G.I.s to find eligible institutions to attend.[300] This, coupled with the fact that many employers excluded African Americans from on-the-job training programs, made it extremely challenging for black veterans to use their benefits whether living in the South or elsewhere.[301]

Time limitations attached to the Korean G.I. Bill's educational benefits also prevented some veterans from using them. Viewing Public Law 550 as a measure to help veterans readjust economically and educationally to regular life after leaving military service and not wishing to create a permanent class of privileged citizens, Congress mandated that veterans initiate their courses of training by August 20, 1954 or within two years of their release from the military not

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enroll in the programs of their choice. A change of objective could mean going from a B.A. program to an M.A. program. This caused difficulties for men or women who completed one level of schooling and wanted to finish up another with the remainder of their G.I. Bill entitlement. See Senator Ralph Yarborough in *Congressional Record (Senate)*, 86th Congress, 1st sess., volume 105, Part 11 (17 July 1959-30 July 1959), 14264.

[300] See Charles E. Bennett to House Committee on Veterans Affairs, 4 December 1952, NA RG 233, Box 2022. Bennett gives the example of a black baking school in Tampa, Florida with 300 students enrolled, presumably under the World War II G.I. Bill, and not one paying their own tuition. Because of new restrictions on Korean veterans, the school could open to them and in fact "will no longer be in existence" once its present G.I.s finish. See also Trezzvant W. Anderson to Karl Standish, 5 March 1953 in the same collection. Blacks also reported problems with using the first G.I. Bill. See David H. Onkst, "'First a Negro … Incidentally a Veteran': Black World War Two Veterans and the G.I. Bill of Rights in the Deep South, 1944-1948," *Journal of Social History* 31:3 (Spring 1998), 517-543.

[301] . Mickey Levine, "Report on Negro Veterans in the South," 15 March 1956, 3, Central Files, General File, GF 124-A-1, Box 912, DDE Library.

to exceed the Korean War service period by more than seven years.[302] Most of those who mustered out after their wartime tours of duty had no trouble meeting these deadlines, but men and women who remained on active duty sometimes did. Barred from using the G.I. Bill while still in service, time ran out before they could enter school. Any significant break in service started the clock ticking. Reenlisting in the Army in February 1955 after less than ninety days of freedom, Donald Dippe had both his application for G.I. Bill educational benefits and his appeal rejected by the Veterans' Administration which calculated his time of eligibility from his first discharge. Frustrated, he reflected, "I did not realize when I reenlisted … that at that moment I had thrown away a College Education."[303] And, once commenced, schooling could not be stopped for longer than twelve months without a veteran risking the loss of his or her entitlement. When the outbreak of the Vietnam War necessitated the recall of men to active duty, Congress had to pass legislation to prevent those who had not yet begun their studies under the G.I. Bill and those who had started but would now be interrupted from losing their benefits.[304] Enacting a G.I. Bill for peacetime veterans might have solved some of these bureaucratic nightmares and put an end to some of the injustices caused by time limits, but most Americans, including officials at the V.A., opposed such measures in principle and proved not yet inclined to pay for the provision of "education and training benefits to peacetime veterans who had not been disabled as the result of their service."[305]

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[302] *Public Law 550,* Title II, Part I, Sections 212-213, 664-665, 82nd Congress, 2nd sess., *United States Statutes at Large* (Washington, D.C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1953), 688-691.
[303] Donald W. Dippe to President Dwight D. Eisenhower, 9 April 1959, Central Files, General File, GF 125-J (2), Box 933, DDE Library.
[304] "Bill Aids Veterans of Korea," *New York Times,* 16 January 1962, 26 and Senator Richard L. Neuberger in *Congressional Record (Senate),* 87th Congress, 2nd sess., volume 108, Part I (10 January 1962-1 February 1962), 154.
[305] Sumner G. Whittier to David W. Kendall, 27 May 1959, Central Files, General File, GF 125-J (2), Box 933, DDE Library and "G.I. Bill Extension is Opposed by V.A.," *New York Times,* 19 March 1957, 20.

Other problems with Public Law 550 probably deterred some men and women from taking advantage of their benefits, but Korean veterans, especially those who had served in the Far East, had reasons all their own for not using the G.I. Bill. Heroics had played out on the battlegrounds of Korea and in the hospital wards of Japan, but back home Americans did not seem to think of that when they thought about the war at all. Instead, magazine and newspaper articles drew attention to the "brainwashing" of POWs that allegedly occurred or to the fact that this conflict had not been won in the same way as World War II. To be sure, the government had handed out medals, about 50,000 of them, but not always to those who deserved them and not to POWs injured in captivity or in the action that lead to their being taken captive.[306] And, what did it mean that some of the relatives of posthumous Medal of Honor recipients refused to accept those tokens of the nation's esteem?[307] Maybe Chesty Puller, a Marine Corps hero himself, had it right when he declared, "Stalemate, hell! We lost the first war in our history, and it's time someone told the American people the truth about it. The Reds whipped the devil out of us, pure and simple."[308] In light of public attitudes and feeling that perhaps they had not quite finished the job entrusted to them overseas, more than a few Korean War veterans hardly thought themselves worthy of the kinds of benefits used so readily and nonchalantly by the veterans of World War II. Like Verlin Rogers, they decided not to apply for G.I. Bill programs because "others deserved the money and help more than I did."[309] Also, born into that generation of kids

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[306] Christian G. Appy, *Working-Class War: American Combat Soldiers and Vietnam* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1993), 246-247; Matthias, *The Korean War*, 93; and Executive Order 11016 (25 April 1962) at https://afls4.jag.af.mil/ARMY/BCMR/cy2002/2002077167C072.rtf.

[307] During the Korean War, Halsey McGovern became the first person to ever refuse to accept the Medal of Honor. With two sons killed in Korea, McGovern refused the Medal of Honor on the grounds that President Truman was unworthy to bestow it. Clipping "Hero's Scroll Rejected by His Parents" and "PA 163 Medal of Honor," Republican National Committee (Additional Files of) Richard Lamb, A65-12/1, Box 695, DDE Library.

[308] Chesty Puller in Richard K. Kolb, "Korea's 'Invisible Veterans' Return to an Ambivalent America," *Veterans of Foreign Wars Magazine* 85:3 (November 1997), 30.

[309] Verlin N. Rogers, *Korean War Veteran Survey*, 8, CFSOKW.

raised during the Great Depression and the Second World War and reared to take responsibility and to earn respect by displaying independence, Korean veterans frequently persisted in trying to carve their own paths through life without any assistance, especially from the government. As Everett McFarland, who refused to use the G.I. Bill, later noted, "This cost me in terms of money but I was beholden to no one."[310]

In the end, enough Korean War veterans availed themselves of educational benefits under the Korean G.I. Bill that the federal government spent nearly $4.6 billion on their schooling and training alone.[311] In general, this investment paid off handsomely for both veterans and the United States. Like their World War II counterparts, Korean War veterans proved to be good students.[312] At first stigmatized as a "silent generation" one without spirit or interests, Korean veterans displayed concentration, resiliency, and determination in their studies and careers.[313] This was especially true of female veterans who, in spite of often beginning their training later than men, used a greater percentage of their entitlements than male veterans.[314] And, unlike World War II G.I.s, of whom only 25% of G.I. Bill participants worked toward college degrees, more than half of Korean War veterans who used government allowances attended universities and colleges and many shifted into higher paying occupations.[315] Of Korean veterans who later

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[310] Everett J. McFarland, *Korean War Veteran Survey*, 8, CFSOKW.
[311] Fisher, *A Comparative Analysis of Selected Congressional Documents Related to Educational Benefits Legislated for the Veterans of World War II, the Korean Conflict, and the Vietnam Era Under the G.I. Bill*, 32 and Sar A. Levitan and Karen A. Cleary, *Old Wars Remain Unfinished: The Veterans Benefits System* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1973), 3.
[312] Veterans of the Vietnam War also tended to do well in school after coming home. See Drummond Ayers, Jr., "The Vietnam Veteran: Silent, Perplexed, Unnoticed," *New York Times*, 8 November 1970, 1.
[313] "A Generation on Trial," *New York Times*, 28 August 1954, 14. Also F. Fraser Bond, "It's Fun to Teach GI's," *The American Mercury* 87 (July 1958), 69-72.
[314] Female veteran participation rates, though, were much lower than that of males. Robert H. Feitz, *Female Veterans' Usage of the Post-Korean Conflict GI Bill* (Office of Information Management and Statistics Statistical Policy and Research Service Research Division 711, March 1985), 12.
[315] "Education of Veterans" in *Veterans in America*, Central Files, Official File, OF55 1959, Box 244, DDE Library and Congress, House, President's Commission on Veterans' Pensions, *Readjustment Benefits: General Survey and*

went on to use V.A. educational assistance, only 24.9% had attended college before separating from the military. After using the G.I. Bill, that rate increased to 57.4% and the percent of veterans possessing the equivalent of a college degree jumped from 8% to nearly 37%.[316] It can be no wonder that Korean veterans credit their G.I. Bill with "providing me with opportunities that would not have been available" and moving them from modest backgrounds into professions like law and teaching and up into the middle class.[317] But, in getting an education or by participating in job training, Korean veterans also gave back to their country by providing it with a new generation of doctors, engineers, scientists, businessmen, and teachers and by raising the national educational level.[318] Also, armed with more complete educations and employed in higher paying fields, many Korean veterans paid back in taxes the entire cost of their G. I. Bill benefits within about 15 years of re-entering the work force.[319]

In addition to the Korean G. I. Bill, the federal government offered a smorgasbord of entitlements to worthy candidates.[320] Disabled veterans had the opportunity to select from a

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Appraisal: A Report on Veterans' Benefits in the United States, 78, 84th Congress, 2nd sess., Committee Print 289, Staff Report No. IX Part A, 11 September 1956 (Washington, D.C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1956).

[316] While the percent of veterans attending college and earning degrees also rose among Korean veterans who did not use the G.I. Bill, the climb was less dramatic, going from 16.1% to 27.4% and 7.2% to 10.9% respectively. "National Survey of Veterans, 1979," 2196-197, NA, RG 015, Box 1. One scholar argues that the social climate extant in America and the push for more formal education rather than the passage of the World War II and Korean G.I. Bills accounts for the willingness of G.I.s and others to enter college. But, it must be noted that while this might be true, the G.I. Bills allowed that willingness to metamorphose into the ability to attend school. Charles B. Nam, "Impact of the 'GI Bills' on the Educational Level of the Male Population," *Social Forces* 43:1 (October 1964), 26-32.

[317] George Pakkala, *Korean War Veteran Survey*, 12, CFSOKW and Eugene R. Grace, *Korean War Veteran Survey*, 13, CFSOKW. See also Al Avisato, Jr. in the Extension of Remarks of Senator Spessard L. Holland of Florida in *Congressional Record—Appendix (Senate)*, 84th Congress, 2nd sess., volume 100, (January 1954-1 December 1954), A69.

[318] "Education of Veterans" in *Veterans in America*, Central Files, Official File, OF55 1959, Box 244, DDE Library and Congressman Radwan in *Congressional Record (House)*, 84th Congress, 2nd sess., volume 102, part 2 (27 January 1956-17 February 1956), 2099.

[319] "A Generation on Trial," *New York Times*, 28 August 1954, 14.

[320] Veterans benefits in America date back to at least the Revolutionary War when the Continental Congress passed laws to award soldiers land grants and pensions. The first general pension came in 1818 for needy service veterans and was expanded in later years to include men who did not meet earlier eligibility requirements. After World War

number of programs and benefits to "restore every disabled veteran to a useful place in our economy and society," including medical and dental care, vocational rehabilitation, insurance, pensions or other monetary compensation, automobiles, housing for paraplegics, and loan guarantees.[321] Soldiers who had served on the front lines in Korea could apply for special combat pay through their local Veterans Administration.[322] POWs could file claims for about $2.50 a day for every day they were held as a POW, $1 for each day that they received food or care below the standard outlined by the Geneva Convention and $1.50 for each day held in inhumane conditions.[323] Wounded veterans could hope for disability ratings resulting in compensation and pensions.[324] Legislators, veterans' organizations, and individuals proposed other measures as well, such as a minimum compensation rating of 30% for ex-prisoners of war, paid transportation for POWs to motels in Florida which offered them free vacations, and

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II, benefits grew exponentially helping to create a backlash against benefits for Korean War veterans. For greater detail, see Levitan and Cleary, *Old Wars Remain Unfinished*.

[321] Howard A. Rusk, "Care for the Wounded," *New York Times*, 6 May 1956, 116 and "Statistical Summary of VA Activities," 31 December 1954, Bryce Harlow, Records 1953-61, Box 8, DDE Library. Paraplegics in fact received yearly stipends of about $6000 for themselves and extra allowances of about $300 for wives and about $200 for children, monthly allotments to cover the cost of attendants, $1600 toward the purchase of a car if public transportation proved unsuitable, and a one-time $10,000 grant to put toward a specially equipped house. John E. Booth, "Veteran Against Veteran," *Atlantic* 216 (October 1965), 89. Public Law 894, passed in December 1950, gave disabled veterans essentially the same vocational rehabilitation benefits enjoyed by disabled veterans of World War II including counseling and G.I. Bill-type training or education, but with a longer time to begin and complete programs. Sar A. Levitan and Joyce K. Zickler, *Swords Into Plowshares: Our GI Bill* (Salt Lake city, UT: Olympus Publishing Company, 1973), 66 and Congress, House, *Record and Evaluation of the Vocational Rehabilitation Program for Service-Connected Disabled Veterans*, 84th congress, 1st sess., 8 July 1955, House Committee Print 109. Operating under the Federal Employees Compensation Act, National Guardsmen and Reservists recalled to duty during the Korean War and subsequently disabled received up to five times more in compensation and benefits than enlistees and inductees. Howard A. Rusk, "Public Apathy to Korea G.I.'s Slows Their Benefit Claims," *New York Times*, 27 September 1953, 4.

[322] The *Combat Duty Act of 1952*, which was retroactive to the start of the war, entitled members of specially designated combat units to $45 a month for every month in which they had spent at least 6 days in duty. Richard K. Kolb, "Korea's 'Invisible Veterans:' Return to an Ambivalent America," *Veterans of Foreign Wars Magazine* 85:3 (November 1997), 25.

[323] "You're Guilty But Don't Ask Why," *New Republic* 134 (13 February 1956), 9-10. Also Memo Roger W. Jones to Mr. Shanley, 8 February 1954, Central Files, Official File, Cross Reference Sheets, OF 154-6, Box 133, DDE Library and Congressman Thomas Ashley of Ohio in *Congressional Record* (House), 84th Congress, 2nd sess., volume 102, part 1 (3 January 1956-26 January 1956), 445.

[324] Pensions ranged from $15 to $150 a month based on the extent of disability. Amputees and the blind received more, but only those discharged with service disabilities could collect a pension. "We've Been Asked: About Aid to New Veterans," *U.S. News and World Report*, 8 June 1951, 58.

service-connection for cancer or psychosis developing within two years of service.[325] Some of these ideas failed to bear fruit, but a fair number of returnees tried, with varying degrees of success, to take advantage of the V.A. and government offerings which did become available.[326] By June 30, 1972, the government had paid Korean War veterans and their dependents over $5 billion in compensation, $740 million in pensions, $6 million for automobiles and special devices, and $14 million for homes for paraplegics. Adding in loan guarantees, burial allowances, various educational and training programs, health care, and administrative costs, the government's expenditure on veterans of the Korean War added up to nearly $17 billion.[327]

However, competing with World War II veterans for public sympathy and the government purse and returning to a social climate tainted by Cold War fears and the feeling that the war in Korea had ended in a draw, Korean War veterans did not always get what they were entitled to when they came home. Four months after filing a claim for his combat pay, Alfred Mishos wrote Senator Robert Taft in frustration, "I served 9 months with a front line unit…I have not received one dime or an explanation why. I have a beautiful set of rotten teeth which the Army could have taken care of but were more interested in sending me to Korea."[328] Plagued with a variety of problems caused by the war, Arthur Smith got notice that the government did

[325] Cross Reference Sheet, Robert Mernit, 24 April 1953, Central Files, Official File, Cross Reference Sheets, OF154-1+, Box 133, DDE Library and Disabled American Veterans (DAV), Resolutions 195, 295, and 293, Central File, PPF47, Order of Demolay, Box 808, Folder "47 Disabled American Veterans (1)," DDE Library.
[326] Although using V.A. services somewhat less frequently than veterans of other wars, Korean War veterans accounted for a hefty percent of those receiving pensions and service connected compensation in March 2000. Of 370,200 veterans receiving pensions, 86,300 were Korean War veterans and another 172,600 were getting service-connected compensation. U. S. Department of Veterans Affairs, Assistant Secretary for Planning and Analysis, Office of Program and Data Analyses, *Data on Veterans of the Korean War*, June 2000 (online publication at http://www.va.gov/vetdata/demographics/KW2000.doc).
[327] Amazingly, by June 30, 1972, the government had spent close to $100 billion on World War II veterans and their dependents and over $50 billion on World War I veterans and their dependents. And, though the Vietnam War was just ending, those veterans had already collected more than $7 billion. Levitan and Cleary, *Old Wars Remain Unfinished*, 3.
[328] Alfred M. Mishos to Robert A. Taft, 27 April 1953, Taft Papers, Box 1282, LOC. Another combat veteran wrote Taft with the same problem. See Joseph P. Dew to Robert Taft, 13 April 1953, Taft Papers, Box 1282, LOC.

not consider his ruined teeth or frostbitten feet a disability and he got nothing.[329] In 1995 Gilbert Towner finally got a rating of 60% disability from a doctor for his frostbitten hands and feet only to have the V. A. counter with a rating of 10%.[330] The V. A. recognized another veteran's bleeding ulcers as service-connected right after the war, but he still had to fight for several years after becoming unable to work before the government would give him a pension.[331] It took Fernando Gandara fifty years to get a 40% disability rating for his damaged ears.[332] Perhaps POWs fared the worst. The Army held hearings to determine whether or not POWs had collaborated and, without producing any tangible proof of guilt, the V. A. proceeded to deny some men benefits and the $2.50 per day compensation.[333] Joseph Hammond, a Bronze Star recipient rated at 40% disability for gunshot wounds, had his claim for $2507 turned down by a V. A. commission on the basis of vague accusations and then had his appeal dismissed because the examiners stalled until the deadline passed. When Hammond asked to see the evidence against him, the chair said it was "classified."[334] Only much later would the stigma of Korean War POWs be removed and V. A. services be offered through an outreach program.[335] Anyway, when men who had been wounded or held captive in Korea finally received their checks, pensions, or government-funded schooling, they often found that these scarcely compensated for what they had been through.

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[329] Arthur Smith, Memoir (Korean War Educator), 18.
[330] As a result of veteran activism, Towner eventually did get a 100% rating for his cold injuries. "Cold Injury Report," *News Digest*, 8, Vertical Files, "Frostbite," CFSOKW.
[331] Pamela Moate to Dr. Edwards, Box VV, Folder A1485, CFSOKW.
[332] Fernando Gandara, *Korean War Veteran Survey*, 7, CFSOKW.
[333] Severo and Milford, *The Wages of War*, 329-333.
[334] "You're Guilty But Don't Ask Why," *New Republic*, 134 (13 February 1956), 9-10 and Congressman Thomas Ashley of Ohio in *Congressional Record* (House), 84th Congress, 2nd sess., volume 102, part 1 (3 January 1956-26 January 1956), 444-446.
[335] Ultimately POWs got special access to medical care and disability compensation for service-related diseases like beriberi and pellagra. "VA Expands Outreach to POWS," Vertical Files, "Frostbite," CFSOKW.

Regardless of whether or not veterans qualified for any special compensation or took advantage of the educational opportunities guaranteed by Public Law 550, they usually did not come out of Korea or out of the military empty-handed. In addition to any back pay accrued and not yet paid, veterans out-processing also got mustering-out pay. Under Title V of the Veterans' Readjustment Assistance Act of 1952, the Korean G.I. Bill, service members who served 60 or more days outside the continental U. S. got $300, $100 at discharge and $100 a month for two months thereafter. Those who served less than 60 days got a onetime payment of $100.[336] Returning from the war zone, John Hatcher boasted that he had $1200 in his bank account and, with a year of back pay accumulated while he was in Korea and a reenlistment bonus in hand, Anthony DeAngelis had "more than I ever had in my whole life!"[337] Plenty of places existed for veterans to spend any newfound wealth. Some, like Richard Chappell, traveled around taking vacations and seeing America, the country for which they had endured so many hardships overseas.[338] Others used the money to buy new cars or television sets, get married, or have a good time. Veterans also took the opportunity to invest these funds to better their future finances. They purchased homes with G. I. loans, bought into businesses, and converted their

[336] Men who served stateside also qualified for mustering out pay, but it did not exceed $200 regardless of the length of their service. "The New GI Bill: Who Gets What?," *Changing Times* (May 1953), 21 and *Congress and the Nation, 1945-1964: A Review of Government and Politics in the Postwar Years* (Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly Press, 1965), 1348. Also *Public Law 550*, Title V, Section 408, 501-506, 82nd Congress, 2nd sess., *United States Statutes at Large* (Washington, D.C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1953), 688-691. Initially some veterans were out of the loop in getting this money because they mustered out before the act was passed, but Congress later worked to extend the deadline for filing in order to make everyone who served in the Korean War eligible. See Sam A. Jaffe, "Uncle Sam's Bitter Nephews," *The Nation* 173 (29 December 1951), 567-568 and Congress, House, Committee on Veterans Affairs, "Extension of Time for Applying for Mustering-Out Payments," report prepared by Congressman Olin E. Teague of Texas, 84th Congress, 1st sess., *House Reports, Volume 3: Miscellaneous Reports on Public Bills, II* (Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1955).
[337] John Walker Hatcher (AFC2001-001-1428), Folder 1, *Mission Log and Letters From Korea 1952*, 77, VHPC, AFC, LOC and Anthony DeAngelis, Memoir, 80, attached to Army Service (Korean War) Questionnaire, 1st Cavalry Division, Surnames A-L, Carlisle Barracks.
[338] Richard G. and Gerald E. Chappell, *Corpsmen: Letters from Korea* (Kent, OH: Kent State University Press, 2000), 152.

$10,000 military insurance policies, taking over the premiums and guaranteeing themselves future dividends.[339]

The men and women who served in the Far East during the Korean War marched to their duty stations with the imprint of World War II's tickertape parades and national unity embedded in their memories. But, instead of returning to the grateful nation they remembered, veterans of Korea came home to a civilian society marked by indifference to the war, racism, and sexism. Turning to the government for which they had offered up a year or more of their lives, veterans found not only insensitivity to their physical and psychological suffering, but also a reluctance on the part of lawmakers to compensate and reward them for their services in the same way that men and women of the Second World War had been. In response, some Korean War veterans "quietly resumed their civilian lives … and set out to forget Korea," determining that "if we thought that we would receive any lasting public reward for our service, we were mistaken."[340] But, a great many others determined to make the most of their lackluster benefits and, like Robert Chappel and Elmer Payne, could claim years later that "today I'm reaping the benefits from it [military service] and I'm glad I did it" and "I actually benefited from military service which opened the door to a very rewarding career and pleasant retirement."[341]

[339] See Kenneth A. McCormick, unpublished memoir included with *Korean War Veteran Survey*, 56, CFSOKW. Also, "To Korean War Veterans: Keep Your VA Insurance," *Consumer Reports* 44 (May 1979), 267.
[340] Paul L. Cooper, *Weekend Warriors* (Manhattan, KS: Sunflower University Press, 1996), 219 and Otto F. Apel and Pat Apel, *MASH: An Army Surgeon in Korea* (U.S.A.: University Press of Kentucky, 1998), 209.
[341] Robert Chappel (AFC2001/001/188), Folder 2, Interview by Laura M. Clifton, 23 November 2001, 13, VHPC, AFC, LOC and Elmer P. Payne to Melinda Pash, 4 June 2004, in author's possession.

CHAPTER 7: MORE THAN EVER A VETERAN: SERVICEMEN AND WOMEN OF THE KOREAN WAR

"South Korea has prospered like a weed. If we had been allowed to finish the job maybe North Korea would be an ally and free instead of an opponent and not free."—Everett J. McFarland, veteran.[1]

"I don't think I thought it [the Korean War] worthwhile in 1953—but I do now!"—John "Jack" Orth, veteran."[2]

"Today … I don't have mixed emotions. It [the war] was a waste of beautiful young lives. Who ordered this ridiculous poke at the enemy? Was it a politician sitting on his fat duff in Washington? War is senseless. There has to be a better way of settling differences."—William Montgomery, veteran.[3]

"Even though war is a horrible thing, I learned many things during my stay in Korea, and I also grew as a person."—Aubrey Loving, veteran.[4]

"Those who have devoted service to this country will never be forgotten. Their sacrifice will live on forever in the hearts of all who cherish freedom."—Angelo Biviano, veteran.[5]

As men and women straggled back to the States from the Far East during and after the Korean War, a few Americans and groups did seek to honor them and memorialize their sacrifices. Citizens of Springfield, Massachusetts, for instance, built "the only known Korean Memorial for the Korean Veterans," completing it by May 1955.[6] Similarly, the United Nations dedicated a plaque to the Korean War dead at its headquarters on June 21, 1956.[7] And, on November 11, 1954, Armistice Day officially became Veterans Day in the United States, in part

[1] Everett J. McFarland, *Korean War Veteran Survey*, 11, CFSOKW.
[2] John "Jack" Orth, *Korean War Veteran Survey*, 7, CFSOKW.
[3] William Wayne Montgomery, *The Mustache that Walks Like a Man* (Manchester Center, VT: Marshall Jones Company, n.d.), 175.
[4] Aubery Loving, Interview by Natalie Shocklee in Virginia Havard, editor, *By Word of Mouth* (Lufkin, TX: Lufkin High School, Kwik Copy Printing, 1990), 20-21.
[5] Angelo J. Biviano, Army Service (Korean War) Questionnaire, 20, 1st Cavalry Division, Surnames A-L, Department of the Army, U. S. Army Military History Institute, Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania. (Hereafter Carlisle Barracks).
[6] Cross Reference Sheet, Weeks, Woodrow, 18 May 1955, Central Files, Official File, Cross Reference Sheets, OF3-UU, Box 18 (pre-accession), DDE Library.
[7] "Dedication of Plaque Honoring Korean War Dead," *Department of State Bulletin* 35 (16 July 1956), 119-120.

to recognize these new veterans.[8] But, with public support for such efforts as tepid in the 1950s as attitudes toward the war had been, early attempts to construct lasting monuments in remembrance of either the Korean War or veterans of that conflict often failed. As with the American Battle Monuments Commission's proposal to build a memorial in South Korea, neither enough interest nor money could be generated to sustain projects.[9] Tired of arguing that America "hadn't 'lost' in Korea" and quieted by the country's apathy, many Korean War veterans made their "earliest contribution to our generation of silence leading to our forgotten war" by trying to put the war behind them and forget that they were veterans at all.[10] All the same, Korean War service shaped the lives of the men and women who completed tours of duty in theater, and, later, sometimes years or decades later, members of the "silent generation" found their voice as American war veterans.

Looking back now after nearly a lifetime, most veterans of the Korean War see connections between their days in service and the way their lives unfolded after the conflict. Injured physically or mentally, some recognize that they have yet to recover from wounds "so deep that they scarred my very soul."[11] Others continue to wrestle with the unpleasant lessons they learned in the war, such as that "children and innocent people suffer."[12] A few note that service adversely affected their careers. "The guy who stayed home and went to college got the

[8] G. Kurt Piehler, *Remembering War the American Way* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1995), 158 and Richard K. Kolb, "Korea's 'Invisible Veterans' Return to an Ambivalent America," *Veterans of Foreign Wars Magazine* 85:3 (November 1997), 30.
[9] Piehler, *Remembering War the American Way*, 157.
[10] Charles F. Cole, *Korea Remembered: Enough of a War: The USS Ozbourn's First Korean Tour, 1950-1951* (Las Cruces, NM: Yucca Tree Press, 1995), 273.
[11] Glen Lowery, Interview by Lisa Davis in Havard, ed., *By Word of Mouth*, 22.
[12] Louis J. Lyons in Linda Granfield, *I Remember Korea: Veterans Tell Their Stories of the Korean War, 1950-1953* (New York: Clarion Books, 2003), 67.

better job. I operated a machine. He was probably up in the office."[13] Most, however, acknowledge that they "learned many things during my stay in Korea, and … also grew as a person" and that they "learned a lot about myself" and "can give part of the credit for my good fortune to the Corps. My experience as a Marine was a very positive thing. As an enlisted man I learned self-discipline."[14] Like Edgar Miller, who bought and ran a business and became mayor of a small town, veterans credit both the military and their wartime experiences with instilling the skills and character traits in them that enabled their success in the civilian world after mustering out.[15]

Indeed, financially, Korean War veterans do seem to have profited from or at least not been impeded by their military service. In general, veterans of modern wars, including World War II, "suffer an earnings penalty in the civilian economy."[16] Removed from the regular work force for years, out of the loop for promotions and job-related training, and perhaps hindered by physical or emotional impairments caused by the war, veterans have a difficult time catching up to their non-veteran peers in terms of salary and occupational status.[17] For veterans of wars other than Korea it took as many as ten years for the disparity in earnings to even out if it ever did.[18]

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[13] Eugene R. Manfrey, a former steelworker, in Sylvia Nasar, "Serving in Military May Cut Later Earnings, Studies Say," *New York Times*, 11 November 1991, D1.
[14] Aubrey Loving, Interview by Natalie Shocklee in Havard, *By Word of Mouth*, 21; Harlee W. Lassiter, *Korean War Veteran Survey*, attachment page, CFSOKW; and Dick Munro in Henry Berry, *Hey Mac, Where Ya Been? Living Memories of the U.S. Marines in the Korean War* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1988), 277.
[15] Edgar Miller in Granfield, *I Remember Korea*, 114. See also Joe Holland, Interview by Tamara Greening in Havard, *By Word of Mouth*, 18 and Samuel R. Woodham (AFC2001/001/1595), Folder 3, Interview by Brian Woodham, 23 March 2002, 28, VHPC, AFC, LOC.
[16] Alan B. Krueger, "Economic Scene: For White Men, Military Service Does Not Pay in Later Life," *New York Times Online*, 11 November 2004.
[17] On average, Vietnam veterans earned 10% less, World War II veterans (after factoring out non-veterans who because of mental or physical impairment could not serve and therefore had handicaps to hold them back in the civilian sector as well) earned 5-10% less, and post-Vietnam veterans earned 5% less than non-veterans when entering the work force after military service. *Ibid.* and Alan B. Krueger, "Warning: Military Service Can be a Drain on Later Earning Power in Civilian Life," *New York Times*, 11 November 2004, C2.
[18] *Ibid.* Vietnam veterans actually fared the worst financially of all the veteran groups from World War II to the first war in Iraq. Though they in many instances had similar earnings to non-veterans, once factors like age, education,

But, maybe because they reentered a comparatively stable economy or because they were younger than veterans of some wars when they returned, Korean War veterans tended to fare somewhat better than both the veterans of other wars and their non-military contemporaries.[19] By 1979, studies indicated Korean War veterans, rather than making less than men or women who had not entered the Armed Forces, had considerably more income, some 17% more. In fact, in that same year Korean War veterans had the highest median income of all groups of wartime veterans as well as the highest rate of home ownership.[20] More likely than veterans of World War II, Vietnam, and the Persian Gulf War to have earned a college degree, Korean War veterans in the work force managed to get the "highest rate of return for years of education."[21]

White veterans of the Korean War, especially those with less than a high school diploma, proved adept at converting military experience into civilian earnings, but minority veterans showed themselves even more able to make their service pay off.[22] Whether because a record of military service encouraged employers to hire them, because veterans' readjustment programs helped neutralize discrimination and other barriers to employment, or because service gave them

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race, and marital status were taken into account, they actually made far less than their contemporaries. Some scholars estimate that on average Vietnam veterans earn(ed) 19% less than non-veterans. See Saul Schwartz, "The Relative Earnings of Vietnam and Korean-Era Veterans," *Industrial and Labor Relations Review* 39:4 (July 1986), 564 and Stephen L. Mangum and David E. Ball, "The Transferability of Military-Provided Occupational Training in the Post-Draft Era," *Industrial and Labor Relations Review* 42:2 (January 1989), 234.

[19] Advantages over other veterans remain obvious even after sorting through various demographic characteristics. Melanie Martindale and Dudley L. Poston, Jr., "Variations in Veteran/Nonveteran Earnings Patterns Among World War II, Korea, and Vietnam War Cohorts," *Armed Forces and Society* 5:2 (February 1979), 229.

[20] "National Survey of Veterans, 1979," "Final Report," 11 and 68, NA, RG 015, Box 1. 88.8% of those who served in Korea only had bought or built a home to live in compared to 87.3% of World War II veterans and 66.5% of Vietnam War veterans. 90.9% of those who served in both Korea and Vietnam and 95% of those who served in World War II, Korea, and Vietnam had purchased or built homes.

[21] Schwartz, "The Relative Earnings of Vietnam and Korean-Era Veterans," 569 and Valentine M. Villa, Nancy D. Harada, Donna Washington, and JoAnn Damron-Rodriguez, " Health and Functioning Among Four War Eras of U.S. Veterans: Examining the Impact of War Cohort Membership, Socioeconomic Status, Mental Health, and Disease Prevalence," *Military Medicine* 167 (September 2002), 785.

[22] Mangum and Ball, "The Transferability of Military-Provided Occupational Training in the Post-Draft Era," 234 and Martindale and Poston, "Variations in Veteran/Nonveteran Earnings Patterns Among World War II, Korea, and Vietnam War Cohorts," 238.

more confidence and higher expectations, African American and Hispanic veterans of Korea far surpassed their non-veteran counterparts economically. For at least a decade after joining the work force, non-white Korean veterans pulled in 10% more income than their civilian equals.[23] True also for minority veterans of other wars, one thing that distinguished Korean War black veterans was their greater resiliency to unemployment. In 1979, when more than 10% of black World War II veterans were out of work, the rate of unemployment among black Korean War veterans remained about half that.[24] In addition, some Mexican veterans received more than increased income as a result of their service. Responding in part to the 1952 deportation of Alberto Gonzales, a 21 year old Mexican Purple Heart recipient wounded in Korea after crossing the border and enlisting in the U.S. Army, congressmen pushed to allow all Mexicans "who bore arms for this country to apply for United States citizenship and to remain here until they got it."[25]

While remunerated in some ways for participating in the Korean War, most veterans struggled after separation with the feeling that Americans had forgotten not just their personal sacrifices and the very memory of those who lost their lives on the Korean Peninsula but the conflict itself. In the 1950s and 1960s, World War II veterans dominated Memorial Day and Veterans Day events and parades as well as most veterans' organizations. By the 1970s, veterans of the Vietnam War began demanding their share of public attention. Where, in between World War II, the "Good War," with its victorious veterans and Vietnam, the "Bad

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[23] Krueger, "Warning: Military Service Can be A Drain on Later Earning Power in Civilian Life," *New York Times,* 11 November 2004, C2.

[24] The rate of unemployment among black Korean War veterans hovered at just 5%. "National Survey of Veterans, 1979," "Final Report," 13, NA, RG 015, Box 1.

[25] "Two Support Mexican," *New York Times,* 21 March 1952, 45. Evidently, this early effort failed, but later measures supported giving men who served in Korea the same naturalization rights as in other wars. See "Naturalization Privileges for Korean War Veterans" in *Congressional Record (Senate)*, 85th Congress, 2nd sess., volume 104, part 14 (14 August 1958-20 August 1958), 80 and "Proposed Citizenship Legislation for Veterans of Korean War" in *Congressional Record (Senate)*, 85th Congress, 2nd sess., volume 104, part 1 (7 January 1958-30 January 1958), 531.

War," with its vocal veterans did Korea, the "forgotten war," with its silent veterans belong? Slowly, especially after the dedication of the Vietnam Memorial in Washington, D.C. in November 1982, Korean War veterans, who had not yet been honored with a national memorial, began to reflect upon their own war and wonder, "We did what our country called us to do. Is it too much to ask that we be recognized for what we did?"[26]

After many years of silence about their wartime experiences, Korean War veterans found their identity as veterans rekindled.[27] Many for the first time began joining existing veterans' organizations like the VFW and the American Legion or pledged membership in newer groups like the Chosin Few (formed in 1983 for veterans of the action at Chosin Reservoir in the winter of 1950), the Korean War Veterans Association (incorporated in 1985), and Korean War Veterans International (formed in 1986). Attending meetings and reunions, they met up with old buddies and made new friends "among men who could understand what it means to have been in combat."[28] Here, Korean War veterans finally found some of the understanding and camaraderie that had characterized the post-Korea lives of men and women who stayed in the military after the war and which had been missing from their own. They felt that "I fit right in and I like that."[29] Although separated from each other for many years and only seeing each other occasionally, "when we reunited it was as if time had stood still. The unspoken words, emotion, and common destiny are perhaps the glue that hold our sprinkled … parts together for ever after."[30]

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[26] Mulhausen and Alexander, *Korea: Memories of a U. S. Marine*, i.
[27] Many veterans note that they never even told their children, or in some cases wives, that they served in Korea. See *Ibid.*, ii and Glen Wilson in Steve Vogel, "After 50 Years, Veterans of Korea are Still Haunted by Memories," *The Washington Post*, 26 June 2000, B1.
[28] Harlee W. Lassiter, *Korean War Veteran Survey*, attachment page, CFSOKW.
[29] Email Shorty Estabrook to Melinda Pash, 29 July 2004, in author's possession.
[30] Ted W. Peddycord, *Korean War Veteran Survey*, 12, CFSOKW.

Reconnecting with other veterans had a healing effect on those who served in Korea, but it also provided the impetus for them to push for more outward recognition of their needs and rights as veterans and of the "forgotten" war they had fought so long ago.[31] As one veteran noted, "after 40 years of being quiet, we're ready to rattle our sabers."[32] By the late 1970s, and especially after the construction and unveiling of the Vietnam War Memorial, veterans of Korea began to lobby for a national memorial of their own.[33] Eli Belil, deputy mayor of Marlboro, New Jersey, took it upon himself to correspond with various government agencies, the American Battle Monuments Commission, and veterans' organizations to draw attention to the fact that Korean War veterans had nothing to show for their duty to country except "a few fading pictures amongst themselves and scars that neither time nor the Government's apathy will heal."[34] In 1985, just three years after the dedication of the Vietnam War Memorial, forty veterans followed Balil's lead, forming the Korean War Veterans Association to, among other things, "establish war and other memorials commemorative of any person or persons who served in the Korean War."[35] Largely in response to the push by Korean War veterans and the KWVA, Congress in October 1986 authorized the erection of a Korean War memorial, but only allocated $1 million to the project, making veterans responsible for raising the other $5 million on their own.[36] On June 14, 1992, Korean War veterans finally broke ground on the Korean War Memorial in

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[31] For more on the healing effects of reunions, see Glen H. Elder, Jr. and Elizabeth C. Clipp, "Wartime Losses and Social Bonding: Influences Across 40 Years in Men's Lives," *Psychiatry* 51:2 (May 1988), 177-198 and Gilbert Towner in Richard T. Cooper, "Vets Still Conflicted Over Korea," *Los Angeles Times*, 19 January 2000, 1.
[32] Bob Barnett in Kelly O. Beaucar, "Korean War Vets…the Forgotten Ones," *The Herald* (New Britain, CT), 14 June 1998.
[33] Many accounts note the impact of Vietnam veteran activism on Korean War veteran activism. It seems that Korean War veterans in part learned how to organize from this younger group and also became more desirous of recognition as they watched the country respond to Vietnam veterans. See Cooper, *Weekend Warriors*, 219 and Albert J. Parisi, "Korean War: Memories, but…," *New York Times*, 5 July 1987, NJ1.
[34] Albert J. Parisi, "Korean War: Memories, but…," *New York Times*, 5 July 1987, NJ1.
[35] "KWVA History in Brief," online at http://www.kwva.org/brief_history.htm.
[36] Piehler, *Remembering War the American Way*, 158 and Albert J. Parisi, "Korean War: Memories, but…," *New York Times*, 5 July 1987, NJ1.

Washington, D.C. and on July 27, 1995 President William Jefferson Clinton and Kim Dae-jung dedicated the completed memorial.[37] Forty-two years after their war in Korea ended with an armistice, veterans of the Korean War won "one of the biggest battles we had to fight," getting their memorial, a tangible reminder of the country's gratitude.[38]

In addition to struggling for a national memorial, some Korean War veterans in the last three decades fought for other things related to their veteran status. In the 1990s, black veterans launched a campaign to force historians and the military to reevaluate the official record and produce an unbiased account of African American troops in Korea. Though they failed to halt the 1996 publication of William T. Bowers' *Black Soldier, White Army: The 24th Infantry Regiment in Korea,* and though later works reaffirmed that all-black units performed poorly, these veterans did manage to force the reexamination of the facts which resulted in blame for poor performance shifting to the Jim Crow Army and away from individual soldiers.[39] Other veterans strove and continue to strive for rights to government-funded medical care. In 2002, Korean War veterans sued the government for the free lifetime medical benefits promised them by recruiters fifty years ago and in 2005 some joined in a lawsuit over cuts in medical benefits.[40]

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[37] The Korean War Memorial had to be rededicated in 1999 as Washington weather had eroded much of the original memorial. Allan R. Millett, *Their War for Korea: American, Asian, and European Combatants and Civilians, 1945-1953* (Washington, D.C.: Brassey's, Inc., 2002), xviii. In his preface, Millett makes an interesting comparison of the Korean War Memorial in the United States and the one in South Korea.

[38] William M. Allen, *My Old Box of Memories: Thoughts of the Korean War* (self-published, 1999), 92. Many veterans note the importance of the Korean War Memorial in their lives. See *Ibid.*, 93-96 and Charles King in Bill Smith, "Black Soldiers Fully Shared Korean War's Bloody Cost," *St. Louis Post-Dispatch,* 20 February 2002, A1.

[39] Michael Ollove, "A Soldier's Disgrace," *The Baltimore Sun,* 28 April 1996, 1K; Michael A. Fletcher, "Korean War Veterans Seek to Block Book Critical of Black Unit," *Washington Post,* 19 January 1997, A4; and Charles M. Bussey, *Firefight at Yechon: Courage and Racism in the Korean War* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2002), xvii.

[40] Curt Anderson, "Appeals Court Denies Lifetime Health Care for WWII, Korean Veterans," *The Associated Press News Service,* 20 November 2002, online at http://infoweb.newsbank.com and Joe Galloway, "Vets Sue Over Cuts in Benefits," *Fayetteville (NC) Observer,* 27 May 2005, 10A.

Perhaps most successfully, the survivors of the action at Chosin Reservoir in the winter of 1950 worked toward V.A. recognition of their frostbite-related maladies as service-connected. After the several hundred men gathered for the first meeting of the Chosin Few in 1985 discovered they all suffered from diseases and conditions related to the frigid weather they endured in North Korea, they began to mobilize. Marine Gunnery Sergeant Ernie Pappenheimer, who lost his toes and part of a foot to the cold, began researching frostbite complications. Along with Dr. Stanley Wolf, also a veteran of the early months of the Korean War, Pappenheimer formed the Cold Injury Committee of the Chosin Few. In addition to informing both veterans and doctors "about the latent effects of frostbite and cold injury," this group "sent delegations to Washington, lobbying" for government recognition and medical assistance.[41] Eventually persistence paid off and the Department of Veterans Affairs agreed to "broadly recognize the long-term effects of frostbite as service-related injuries."[42] In 1997, veterans of the Korean War began getting compensation for their cold injuries and in 2004 the Senate put forth a bill to require the V.A. to "carry out a program of outreach to veterans of World War II and the Korean Conflict on the nature and availability of benefits."[43] In the first year alone, as many as 4000 Korean War veterans benefited from these changes in the V.A. stance on frostbite.[44] It did, however, take V.A. doctors a little while to catch up to V.A. rulings and develop sensitivity to the needs of these older veterans. Visiting V.A. doctors for the first time with regard to the later

[41] Jonathan Bor, "Korean War cold Cripples Again," *Baltimore Sun*, 1A.
[42] Michael Doyle, "Veterans Win 'Cold War' for Health Benefits," *Fresno (CA) Bee*, 25 May 1997, A22.
[43] U.S. Congress, Senate, Bill S.2776, 108th Congress, 2nd sess., 7 September 2004, online at http://thomas.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/z?c108S.2776. Also, Colonel John Zitzelberger continues to make "Cold Injury Information" packets available to veterans seeking to file a claim. Letter and packet Colonel John Zitzelberger to Melinda Pash, July 2004, in author's possession.
[44] "Out Front: Againg World War II, Korea Vets Finally Compensated for Frostbite's Ills," *Boston Globe Online*, 6 April 1997.

effects of frostbite, Korean War veterans noticed that "When they view frostbite patients they ask 'Why didn't you put on more clothes.'"[45]

As Korean War veterans began to lay claim to veteran rights, the American public responded with increased attention.[46] On July 27, 1988, church bells across America rang out at 10:00 a.m. to mark the 35th anniversary of the armistice.[47] In 2000, Bruce Salisbury, an Aztec, New Mexico resident, suggested putting one Purple Heart for every American who died in combat in Korea along designated highways, saying, "It would be hard to ignore or overlook Purple Hearts stretching for 37 miles along a highway."[48] New York held a "belated official homecoming" complete with a parade from Broadway to Battery Park for Korean veterans in June 1991.[49] As evidenced by the onlooker who asked if the festivities celebrated Desert Storm, to which one veteran replied "Do me a favor, walk the other way. We've waited 40 years. Desert Storm can wait a couple of months," not everyone knew exactly what the parade marked, but still 250,000 people showed up.[50] Denied the "Republic of Korea War Service Medal" in the 1950s because of rules forbidding American military personnel from wearing medals issued by foreign governments, Korean veterans got another chance to apply for one in the 1990s.[51] From the late 1980s to the present time, numerous communities designed and constructed state and

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[45] Robert W. Chester, Sr., *Korean War Veteran Survey,* 10, CFSOKW.
[46] South Koreans also expressed their gratitude to Korean War veterans and the country which had sent them. In 2002, when activists in South Korea staged protests against the United States, supporters of the United States and South Korean war veterans held pro-American rallies in front of a key U.S. Army base. Jong-Heon Lee, "Korean Veterans Block Anti-U.S. Rallies," United Press International, 3 January 2002, provided by COMTEX, online at http://www.comtexnews.com, article number A81238431. See also Clipping "Korean War Veterans are Honored 50 Years Later," Vertical File "Veterans Recognized," CFSOKW.
[47] "Church Bells to Salute Korean War," *Commercial News* (Danville, IL), 7 June 1988, Box MM, Folder 1311 B, CFSOKW.
[48] Clipping "On Korean War Veterans," *The Examiner,* 15-16 July 2000, Box CC, Folder A0908, CFSOKW.
[49] Sarah Lyall, "Act of Appreciation Assuages Korean War Vets," *New York Times,* 26 June 1988, 25 and James Barron, "A Korea War Parade Decades Late," *New York Times,* 26 June 1991, B1 and Peter A. Soderbergh, *Women Marines in the Korean War Era* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 1994), 131.
[50] James Barron, "A Korea War Parade Decades Late," *New York Times,* 26 June 1991, B1.
[51] The ban was lifted in 1954, but the medal was not offered again by South Korea until the 1990s. Clipping, Robert Burns, "Pentagon Clears Way for Vets to Wear South Korean Medals," 23 June 2000, AR0664, CFSOKW.

local Korean War memorials or added Korea to existing war monuments.[52] In Minnesota, one woman, "Billboard Sally," lived in a tent on the edge of a billboard 25 feet off the ground to raise money for the state Korean War memorial.[53] Korean War veterans, no longer silent or forgotten, not infrequently took charge of these efforts to memorialize them. When Camden County, New Jersey officials planned to build their Korean War memorial on a traffic island on the highway, veterans successfully pressured them into changing the location.[54]

Reestablishing their identity as veterans, many of those who served in Korea during the war decided to return once more to the "Land of the Morning Calm." Remembering the bullet-riddled buildings, the hungry peasants "in a land ravaged by war," and the shelters made of "corrugated tin, cardboard, and anything else that could be used," veterans could scarcely imagine that the Korea before them had once been the site of their war.[55] They marveled at the "hillsides covered with trees … [and that] Seoul was a huge modern city … with numerous skyscrapers, including the tallest building in the Orient … rebuilt … by men and women whose grandparents knew only oxen and the rice paddy."[56] Of course, not everything had changed. With North Korean troops still patrolling the 38th Parallel, searchlights illuminated the DMZ and soldiers continued to stand guard along the border between North and South Korea. As one veteran says, "It was eerie to stand in a concrete-lined South Korean observation post located on

[52] For a list of Korean War memorials, see the KWVA site at http://www.kwva.org/memorials/index.htm.
[53] "Billboard Sally" also raised money for the Minnesota Vietnam War memorial this way. Don Boxmeyer, *A Knack for Knowing Things: Stories from St. Paul Neighborhoods and Beyond* (St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society Press, 2003), 160-161.
[54] Albert J. Parisi, Untitled Article, *New York Times*, 11 October 1987, NJ20.
[55] Lee Ballenger, *The Final Crucible: U.S. Marines in Korea, v.II, 1953* (Washington D.C.: Brassey's, 2001), 270 and William D. Dannenmaier, *We Were Innocents: An Infantryman in Korea* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1999), 226-227.
[56] Dannenmaier, *We Were Innocents*, 227.

the same spot where I had dug a foxhole."[57] For some, the trip reawakened old sadness and they "felt like a burn victim whose raw nerve ends are suddenly exposed to air."[58] But, after all, though they visited Korea, "it was not *my* Korea."[59] The war zone had metamorphosed into a land of happy, industrious people who "appreciate what we did and the sacrifices those men made."[60]

Nearly sixty years after the war that turned them into veterans, and in light of South Korea's progress and the greater willingness of Americans to recognize the sacrifices of those who served in the Far East in early the 1950s, what do Korean War veterans now think of the Korean War? Unsurprisingly, most "look back and think we did a good thing."[61] From their perspective, not only did the United States help "the Korean people gain something," but soldiers in Korea "accomplished what the troops in Viet Nam were denied: We drove the enemy back across the border and denied them the victory they so desperately sought."[62] Some veterans wish that "the Korean War had slammed the door harder on communism, for we had to sail the same ideological boat in the Vietnam War just a few years later, and the Cold War did not end for a decade and a half," but they still acknowledge, "Had we not taken a stand on the Korean Peninsula when we did the Cold War would not be past history."[63] They also challenge Americans "who regard the defense of South Korea as worthless … [to] imagine what a unified

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[57] Clipping, Bernard E. Trainor, "A Return to No Man's Land," AR0186, CFSOKW. See also Clyde H. Farnsworth, "Korea War Veterans Return for Another Look," *Special to the New York Times*, 27 October 1985, 16.
[58] *Ibid*.
[59] Dannenmaier, *We Were Innocents*, 229.
[60] Ballenger, *The Final Crucible,* 267-268.
[61] Lloyd A. Greening, *Korean War Veteran Survey*, 7, CFSOKW.
[62] Eric Hansen in William Berebitsky, *A Very Long Weekend: the Army National Guard in Korea, 1950-1953* (Shippensberg, PA: White Mane Publishing Company, 1996), 260 and Mulhausen and Alexander, *Korea: Memories of a U. S. Marine*, i.
[63] Richard G. Chappell and Gerald E. Chappell, *Corpsmen: Letters from Korea* (Kent, OH: Kent State University Press, 2000), 145 and Angelo J. Biviano, Army Service (Korean War) Questionnaire, 20, 1st Cavalry Division, Surnames A-L, Carlisle Barracks.

Korea today under a communist dictatorship would be like."[64] Arned Hinshaw goes one step further, positing that by draining Red China of resources the Korean War possibly saved Formosa from Chinese aggression.[65] In the final analysis, most veterans of Korea agree with Jack Orth, "I don't think I thought it worthwhile in 1953—but I do now!"[66] And, they "look back with pride in our work and what we did," believing "If I had to do it all over again, I would do it."[67]

For a few veterans, however, bitterness still lingers over America's involvement in "a stagnant war that was not meant to be won."[68] They remain angry about the "waste of beautiful young lives" and want to know, "Who ordered this ridiculous poke at the enemy? Was it a politician sitting on his fat duff in Washington?"[69] Some argue that "The Korean War was a mistake as a limited war. The Korean War should have been fought all out" or lament, "If we had been allowed to finish the job maybe North Korea would be an ally and free instead of an opponent and not free."[70] Like Burdette Thomsen they believe the United States "should have finished the job … When you play the game you play to win" or like Walter Klein they contend, "We could have done it in a good old American style and finish[ed] that thing off for a long, long time with the Chinese never again saying 'Paper Tiger' to the Americans."[71] Because of their

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[64] Angelo J. Biviano, Army Service (Korean War) Questionnaire, 20, 1st Cavalry Division, Surnames A-L, Carlisle Barracks

[65] Arned L. Hinshaw, *Heartbreak Ridge, Korea, 1951* (New York: Praeger, 1989), 1.

[66] John "Jack" Orth, *Korean War Veteran Survey*, 7, CFSOKW.

[67] William S. Stegall, *Korean War Veteran Survey*, 12, CFSOKW and Herman Lee Mingee, Interview by Wesley Miller in Havard, *By Word of Mouth*, 25.

[68] Howard Matthias, *The Korean War—Reflections of a Young combat Platoon Leader*, rev. ed. (Tallahassee, FL: Father & Son Publishing, 1995), 225.

[69] Montgomery, *The Mustache that Walks Like a Man*, 175.

[70] Gerald A. Willey, Army Service (Korean War) Questionnaire, 20, 3rd Division, Alphabetical Box 3, Carlisle Barracks and Everett J. McFarland, *Korean War Veteran Survey*, 11, CFSOKW.

[71] Burdette L. Thomsen, Army Service (Korean War) Questionnaire, 16, 1st Cavalry Division, Surnames M-Z, Carlisle Barracks and Walter A. Klein (AFC2001/001/220), Folder 2, Interview by Jamie Malone, 15 November 2001, 14, VHPC, AFC, LOC.

experiences or because they blame the Vietnam War on failures in Korea, some of these veterans have decided "Korea, like most wars, settled nothing. There were few gains and many, many losses" or even that "war is futile. No one ever wins except perhaps for the politicians and the people who manufacture combat equipment."[72] James Campbell, who at the time thought the war a worthy cause, now keeps a bumper sticker on his car, "Veterans for Peace."[73]

Nearly 2 million servicemen and women returned home alive from the Korean War in the 1950s after paying a hefty price for the defense of South Korea. Like veterans of the American Revolution, the War of 1812, the Mexican War, the Civil War, the Spanish-American War, the Vietnam War, Desert Storm, the war in Afghanistan, and the Iraq War, Korean War veterans lost their innocence along with fallen comrades, felt connections to the home front loosen or sometimes snap, and suffered physical and psychological wounds on the battleground. Reentering society, they fared sometimes worse and sometimes better than those who marched back from other wars. But, Korean War veterans hold a unique place in the pantheon of American war veterans. Reared during the Great Depression and World War II to place country above self, the men and women of Korea unhesitatingly "did what was my duty, my obligation" when Uncle Sam asked.[74] They served in the shadow of the glorified soldiers of World War II, receiving little recognition for their own sacrifices and accomplishments. When it became clear that the country preferred to forget not only the Korean War but those who fought it, Korean War

[72] Matthias, *The Korean War*, 226 and Montgomery, *The Mustache that Walks Like a Man*, 227.
[73] James G. Campbell, *Korean War Veteran Survey*, 9. During the Vietnam War, some Korean War veterans participated in demonstrations for peace. Ric Mendoza-Gleason recalls being arrested with 500 others protesting President John F. Kennedy's decision to send advisors to Vietnam. The judge let everyone go except five Korean War veterans whom he sent to jail, saying, "How could you as … veterans, now turn against your country?" Ric Mendoza-Gleason (AFC2001/001/4939), Folder 2, Interview by Katia Bore, 22 January 2003, Transcribed and edited by Lara Ballard, February 2003, 15, VHPC, AFC, LOC. A Korean War veteran, Ron Wolin, led a parade for peace through New York City in 1967. See John P. Callahan, "Parades for Peace, Brotherhood … (And Washington) Mark Holiday Here," *New York Times*, 23 February 1967, 24.
[74] James L. Murphy, *Korean War Veteran Survey*, 12, CFSOKW.

veterans carried their burden of war quietly, almost imperceptibly. But, requesting V.A. headstones at a rate only slightly lower than World War II veterans and accounting for 18% of all internments in national cemeteries, it seems clear that Korean War veterans remember their war and in the twilight of their lives choose to define themselves by it.[75]

[75]Almost 41% of Korean War veterans desire a V.A. headstone or marker while 44% of World War II veterans do. "National Survey of Veterans, 1979," 238 and 245, NA, RG 015, Box 1. U. S. Department of Veterans Affairs, Assistant Secretary for Planning and Analysis, Office of Program and Data Analyses, *Data on Veterans of the Korean War*, June 2000 (online publication at http://www.va.gov/vetdata/demographics/KW2000.doc).

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